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Pro-Slavery.

In this Department we give place to such extracts from the Pro-Slavery Press, North and South, as serve best to illustrate the character of Slavery and the spirit of its champions and apologists.

TWENTY-FIVE MORE YEARS OF AGITATION.

From the Cincinnati Enquirer, June 7.

IT is the opinion of Mr. Wendell Phillips, that unless negro suffrage can be fixed throughout the United States by an Executive *coup de main*, twenty-five years of agitation will be needed to accomplish it through the agency of party politics. This is a pretty decided admission by high authority that the negro question has not been put at rest by the war. Direct intervention, or Executive coercion in favor of colored suffrage is hardly to be expected at the hands of the present Chief Magistrate. The negro machinery seems to have taken to running backward of its own accord. The loyal Legislature of Tennessee has distinctly recognized the difference between black and white, by the passage of several disqualifying acts and provisions. The Legislature of Virginia, elected by loyal men, is imbued with anti-progressive notions which promise less than nothing in favor of the colored friend and brother. Everywhere that the work of reconstruction is going on, the suspices are decidedly anti-African. Nothing is more certain than that, in the colored aspect, the work of National regeneration is very far from being complete; and there are not a few who insist that it is not even begun.

Twenty-five more years of agitation; twenty-five more years of negro politics; twenty-five more years in which theories of the rights and needs of the colored men of the South will obscure and dominate every consideration of public and general interest; twenty-five more years in which political parties will revolve around the negro question, and the merits of public measures, and of public men, will be measured by the bearing they will have upon the claim set up in favor of the admission of persons of African descent to an equality of rights with persons of European ancestry. And how is this agitation to be carried on? In two ways: by a ferocious and bigoted propagandism, in the pulpit and lecture hall, and through the press, and by the setting loose of demagogues to bargain and plot, by every imaginable style of party coalition and combination. The priest will certify to the sacredness of the design, and promise the especial aid of the Almighty for its accomplishment; the political *shyster* will demonstrate its legality, and its conformity with the spirit of our institutions; and the party camp-followers will be ready to embark in any arrangement of forces, however inimical to the general welfare, to carry it into effect.

The thing to be done, will be to put down opposition in the North, as preliminary to putting it down in the South. No general advance can be made upon the latter until the former is brought into a state of unity. How this unity is to be produced, is, as yet, a matter of dubiation, not in respect to the principle, but in respect to the policy and mode of proceeding. The principle of the right of the majority to coerce the minority is established. Our system of political ideas no longer owns free will as its basis, but begins and ends in coercion. The country belongs to the government, the people to the Administration, and the minority to the majority. The plan for political operations is, divide and conquer. Opposition to the Negro Fifth Monarchy in the North has been severed, by the war, from opposition in the South, and, having put down the one, the next thing in order will be to put down the other, and this is to be the work of twenty-five years more of agitation.

And what then? What will be the condition of the country when the twenty-five years are accomplished: what the state of the white people, what of the black? Upon the best of philanthropic authority we are assured that forty years of most unwholesome and distracting agitations, and four years of war, have, as yet, gained nothing for the negro. Five thousand millions of dollars in direct expenditure, ten thousand millions in damage, dilapidation and incidental loss, two millions of lives, a million of cripples, government unbalanced, Constitution trodden down, and every principle of Administration, however venerable for its age or revered for its justice, displaced and distorted; industrial system broken up, society filled with the seeds of disorder, and a whole land poisoned with hatreds and enmities, all for the black man, and yet nothing accomplished! What a lesson for agitators!

And yet this is not the whole story, nor half of it: it is not a thousandth part of it. For all this, the condition of the negro is worse—infinitely, incomparably worse. The blood of the negro rushes in a deep and rapid tide along the track of the philanthropist; the dark forest where ferocious Abolitionism harbors, is horrid with the shrieks of his victims. The history of Anti-Slavery benevolence is, from beginning to end, a history of torture and unmerited suffering: a record of cruelty such as that of the worst of times and the most barbarous of peoples can hardly parallel. The triumph of Abolitionism in America consists in transforming four millions of well-fed and happy laborers, into three millions of paupers—paupers with no home, no country, no recognition: the other million having gone starving, freezing, rotting, to their graves. And yet, in proportion as these sad trophies are multiplied, philanthropy grows more and more inexorable. In spite of the self-evidence of the fact that its steps are marked with blood, and harbingered by shrieks—in spite of the self-evidence of the fact that just in proportion as each of its plans has been carried into effect, the negro has been made more helpless and miserable, philanthropy still insists upon going forward, and completing its dreadful mission. It dares not look back upon the heaps of dead which strew the path it has travelled; but with an additional Cain-mark upon its soul for every murder, and a new hatred for every pang which has assailed its conscience: with enmity against God for refusing indorsement to its theories, and malice against humanity for failing to be tractable to its plans; with a new desperation for every impediment, and a fresh spite for every failure, it rushes on, as if to drown the intolerable memory of the past in some untried combination of horrors in the future.

From this point, in the history of the country, we have a right to look back to the time when, in a spirit of faithfulness that was little appreciated, we ventured to inquire: When slavery is abolished, what is to become of the negro? What will be the fate of the parasite when the bond is broken which subsists between him and his protector? We have not forgotten the lordly style in which we were informed that it was not our business to ask such questions—that this was a matter which, when the proper time should arrive, the party in power was fully competent to manage; nor the sneering tone in which we were given to understand that, though this might be a vast problem for our weak powers, there were those who could solve it off-hand, without our assistance. We regret to say that we do not see the solution. We do not see it in the facts; and when it is inquired after, the answer is, twenty-five more years of agitation. And what then?

Twenty-five more years of agitation, and what then? Who can calculate the effect of twenty-five years of agitation in this country furrowed all over with the marks of forty years of agitation, and hideous with the scars of four years of war? When we said, four years ago, that precisely in proportion as the negro of the South was dislocated, he would be rendered helpless and unhappy, we said that to, the truth of which every day of these four years has become testimony. Four years ago, there were not four millions of people as happy and contented as the negroes of the South, upon the face of the earth; now there is not a people so miserable. Why go on in this dreadful crusade? What hope is there but of heaping up still higher that pyramid of human misery whose size is, even now, so appalling?

Selections.

THE PERILS OF PEACE.

[These letters from THEOPHILUS PARSONS, one of the best lawyers and most accomplished jurists in Massachusetts, the Law Professor in the first Law College, are but a small portion of the work he has done towards enlightening public sentiment since 1861. We print them at once as testimony how strong an advocacy negro suffrage has gained within the last year, and as the opinion of one of deserved weight throughout New England.]

NO. I.

THESE perils will come, almost equally, from two classes of error: one, that of persons who cannot forget the terrible price we pay for peace, and cannot forgive the enormous crime which has cost us so much, and who, when they say that justice is now a duty, mean by justice, consciously or unconsciously, vengeance. The other error is theirs who, in the desire for peace and the prosperity of peace, forget that justice is now at once a duty and our only safe course; and who refuse to learn the lessons of the hour or to profit by them.

One of the most important questions before the government and the country is, shall the freedmen have the right of suffrage. And this question has many aspects, and is not without its difficulty. They are certainly and manifestly unfit, in important respects and to an important degree, to exercise this great political power for the good of the country, or for their own good. Is not this reason enough for withholding this power? Yes, unless there are reasons for giving it, of still greater force.

The veil on the face of Providenee has been so far removed during recent events, that there is now throughout our land more faith than ever before, that God reigns, and works his will in his own way, and by his own appointed means. And there must be with this, some belief that great events are intended to teach great lessons; and that these lessons cannot be ignored or disregarded without great peril.

Slavery has been permitted by that Providence to reach, in a part of this country, a fulness of power and influence which it has never attained before or elsewhere; and then to display its essential character, and its influence upon human character. It has caused the most groundless and the fiercest rebellion ever waged. It has instigated the murders of Unionists in the rebel States; the fires set to crowded hotels; the efforts to introduce contagion and disease into our large cities; the rewards offered in the public prints of the South for the assassination of our leading men; the actual assassination of our President; and the murder of thousands of prisoners by starvation. For all time and all nations it has given *proofs* of its nature and its influence; proofs written in blood, burned in with fire, certain as death. Of all these, the deliberate and continued murder of great multitudes of our prisoners by starvation is the most noticeable, for it is the only one of these crimes *which was never committed before.* It is a crime of a magnitude so vast, and of such enormous atrocity, that it cannot be ignored or forgotten. And, at the same time, it is new on the earth. Prisoners have been slain on the field, or in cold blood after victory; but no history, of earlier or later ages, of barbarous or civilized, of Christian or heathen nations, has ever taught that it was possible for human nature to become so depraved as to commit this wickedness. Shall we be *rational*, if we do not see that this was now permitted, that all men might know and no man ever forget, that the influence of slavery sinks human character to a lower abyss of depravity than it ever reached before?

And then, shall we be *rational*, shall we not utterly fail in our duty to Him who has permitted this fearful revelation—shall we be *safe*, if we do not use the most persistent efforts and all the means in our power to exterminate and annihilate the influence of slavery upon the character of our country? Not the men who have yielded to this influence; them we cannot exterminate, and no one desires to. It is a characteristic of our age, that while principles are of more consequence than ever before, men are of less. And what we should exterminate, without one thought of mercy, are the principles of slavery and the influence of slavery.

And how is it possible for us to say that all white men shall vote because they are white, and that no black man shall vote because he is black, without at once adopting a principle of slavery, and yielding at once to its influence, and doing our best to recognize as right, and confirm and perpetuate this influence? There is no objection whatever to restricting suffrage to him who pays a poll-tax, or who can read or write, or affixing to it any limitation intended to protect this important franchise, if bearing equally on the whites and the blacks. But what is there besides the influence of slavery which could ever suggest to us, that he who is white, be he what else he may, shall vote, and he who is black, be he what else he may, shall not vote. What else than slavery, reaching in its influence beyond the boundaries of its legal existence, ever suggested this distinction to those of the free States in which it is found. Is there anything we could do to-day which would be more efficacious to make the influence of slavery operative and triumphant than precisely this distinction?

We certainly hope that every State which was in rebellion may become a loyal State. A State means the men who are in it, and a State is not a loyal State unless it has within its boundaries loyal men enough to make loyalty the prevailing character of the State. We can find these, however, in only one or more of three classes; for they who do not belong to one or other of them are too few to be of much importance.

These three classes are, first, white men who have been owners of slaves and still hold the wealth of the country; second, white men who owned no slaves because they were too poor to buy one, and who are commonly described as the "white trash" of the South; third, black men who have been slaves. Now, in which of these three classes—remembering what is never to be forgotten, the fatal influence of slavery on human character, an influence bad enough for the slave but infinitely worse for the white—may we find the men to whom we should be most willing, or least unwilling, to intrust the right of suffrage? What slavery has made the slave-owner, needs not now one word of remark, for proofs far more significant than any words, are before the world. And what has it made the poor whites? To say no more, it has made them despisers of labor; it has ingrained into their very natures the feeling that usefulness is at once a misfortune and a degradation; and that it is right for them who do not work to feel unlimited contempt for all on whom rests the necessity or the habit of labor. It was this contempt which, as near as I can find out, was meant in the South by "chivalry."

The very first and most essential requisite for them who are to be the citizens of a loyal State, is loyalty. The most decisive evidence of unfitness is disloyalty. Tried by this test, to which of the three classes above mentioned should we give the franchise? from which should we withhold it?

The negroes of the South are wholly untaught; the bulk of them are probably wanting in all, or very nearly all, of what we regard as the beneficial fruits of education or culture. Hence their unfitness to become voters. Some persons may think them so far a distinct and inferior race of persons, that they should be kept permanently in a lower position, and can never become what citizens of a republic should be. I do not think so. Their present unfitness I admit. But I believe it has been caused by slavery. And I believe that the slavery which has made them unfit, has made the slave-owners and the poor whites at least *as* unfit. And yet if South Carolina is to be recognized as a republican State, there must be somewhere on its territory citizens with the power to vote. And it is perfectly plain that all we can do is to give this right to those of the inhabitants of the State who are least unfit, and withhold it, if at all, only from those who are disqualified by distinctly greater unfitness.

That the whites of the South abhor the idea of negro suffrage is certain. We have already evidence that while they admit that secession and slavery have gone, and only ask that in the matter of confiscation and punishment we should be lenient—even their "Unionists"—those at least of recent conversion—cannot endure for a moment the thought that their former slaves should vote by their side.

Is this a reason why the former slaves should not be permitted to vote; or is it a reason why they should be permitted? This depends upon whether we think the feeling, the habit, and the condition of mind and character which make negro voting so intolerable to the whites, those which we wish to encourage, or to suppress; those which we desire to perpetuate as long as we can, or to get rid of as soon as we can. And accordingly as men would take one of these views or the other; so I do believe they would answer this whole question of freedman franchise. So, at least, they should answer it, if they would be consistent.

While I admit the present unfitness of the freedmen I attribute it, as I have said, to slavery. Therefore I hope that with the absence of slavery a large part of this unfitness will disappear. Habits of self-support, of free labor for wages, of family relations and rights, and education, for which they are now so eager, will inevitably make them what they are not now. And it is worth remembering, that if they can vote, the means of education will be given them far more certainly and more liberally, than if they are dependent for education upon those whose feeling it will be and whose interest it will be to perpetuate their own domination by perpetuating the inferiority of the blacks.

Nor let it be forgotten that the possession and exercise of this right of voting is itself an education. I believe that history will say, a thousand years hence, that it has been one of the most powerful Educators of mankind. May it not also be obliged to say, that we withheld it as long as we could from precisely that portion of our people who needed it most!

The intense opposition to negro suffrage on the part of the whites is one of the means by which slavery will seek to keep itself alive. For slavery, after all, is not dead; had it been dead Lincoln would have been this day alive; for slavery was his assassin. And slavery will be willing to yield to necessity and renounce its name and hide its face, if only it may live on in the dark, and in its influence. Therefore it will offer and will contend bitterly for all manner of compromises and conciliations. And these will be accepted by all who do not feel that we have tried compromise and conciliation with slavery long enough, and that our duty and our safety equally demand that this poisoning influence shall be exterminated, be its disguises or pretences what they may.

Can any one doubt that the former existence of slavery was the great danger and the great disgrace of our country? But it seems to me just as certain, and indeed a necessary consequence, that the great peril of the present day is the willingness, on any ground, or for any reason, or in any way, to let that influence live on and perpetuate itself.

If it be obvious that it is the influence of slavery on the character of the whites of the South which now makes them abhor the thought of negro suffrage, it ought to be equally obvious, that to withhold the suffrage from the negroes is the surest way to indulge and confirm that influence. In other words, it is all we can do to perpetuate the unfitness for this franchise, equally of the blacks and of the whites.

It is very important to remember that a decision now, to withhold this franchise, is a decision not for all time—for injustice is never immortal—but certainly for a very long time. For then *they* cannot vote on this question. They never can receive this franchise except as the free gift of those who now regard it as the only intolerable consequence of our victories. When will the time come that they will be willing to confer this gift? Can it ever come until the scourge of more calamity and convulsion shall compel them and us to learn a lesson, for which it might be hoped that both we and they had already paid enough?

Then it may be said that every State has—must have—under our National Constitution, the exclusive right of determining who shall have the right of suffrage; and if we give it now to the freedmen it may be taken away in a year, even in spite of the votes of the freedmen. But if it could be made an organic condition of the reception of these States as loyal States, that there shall never be a limitation of the franchise resting on difference of color, the two houses of Congress, each of which is the exclusive judge of the election of its members, would probably reject members chosen by a vote which violated this condition. I admit, however, that there are difficulties attending this question, and indeed some difficulties belonging to the whole subject, to which I have not averted. This is always true of every important measure, for it is never possible to foresee or to provide for all consequences. We may hope that the future which develops these difficulties, will find a remedy. It is, however—or ought to be—a truism, that the surest way to guard against a future danger is, to do present justice.

T. P.

Cambridge.

NO. II.

"The New York Evening *Post's* Washington dispatch says government has knowledge that the spirit of the rebellion is not entirely vanquished, and it will be necessary in many portions of the South to maintain military power for some time."

The above paragraph I read in the *Advertiser* of the 28th inst. I do not know precisely what it means; but it neither states nor indicates more than should have been expected.

If there is anything certain about war—its principles, rights, or usages—it is, that a successful party may persist in warlike measures, until it obtains reasonable security against the recurrence of the war, or against the renewed operation of the causes from which the war has sprung.

An opinion is held by some, perhaps by many, that when a State which went into rebellion comes out from rebellion, when it chooses to declare that it gives up rebellion and acknowledges the national authority, by this act it resumes, of itself, its place in the Union as a State, with all the rights and powers which belong to a State.

This opinion I regard as utterly erroneous, and as the source of important error.

That the State which went into rebellion may cease to be rebellious, and when it is thereafter permitted to resume its place in the Union, will then possess all the rights of a State, is certain. But it is not true on any ground of law or of right, or on any principle of reason or of justice, that a State, which by its own act—not of right but in fact—went into rebellion and waged war with the country, may come out from active rebellion, at its own time, in its own way, by its own act, and for its own advantage, and become at once just what it was before the rebellion.

They began the war at their own pleasure and by their own act, without our concurrence. They cannot end it as they began it—they cannot rehabilitate themselves in all the rights they renounced—without our concurrence.

A war between independent nations is terminated by a treaty, to which the successful party does not consent until it obtains the security it requires. There can be no treaty termination here; but there is not one particle the less of right, on our part, to hold the defeated rebels as in the grasp of war, until we obtain the security we require.

There can be only two questions. One is: What security ought we to require? The other is: By what means should we obtain this security.

To answer the first question, let us consider what it is against which we require security.

Not against a renewal—or at least not against an early renewal—of secession. Against that, the exhaustion of the South and the completeness of our success might seem to provide sufficiently.

But secession, or rebellion, was not caused merely by the existence of slavery; nor has their war upon the country been sustained in all its pertinacity and ferocity merely by the fact that there were four millions of slaves. The *active* cause of all this was the antagonism between the two sections which slavery had caused, and the mutual contempt and hatred which it had generated. The free States felt for the foolish arrogance of the rich in the slave States, and for the laziness and ignorance and degradation of the poor whites, as much, perhaps more contempt, than the South felt for the greed and thrift and universal industry of the North and West. But the hatred of the free States for the people of the slave States was less, and might better be expressed by the milder word, dislike. While the hatred of the South for us burned like fire. It was inflamed both by envy of our growth and prosperity, and by the fear that the increasing strength of the principles to which we owe our prosperity endangered that slavery the love of which was their vital principle.

But for all this, I hope for a true, real and permanent reconciliation between these sections; provided, the cause of this antagonism be completely removed. Slavery will be dead legally as soon as a few more States adopt the proposed Amendment to the Constitution. But the influence of slavery will not die so soon; not for many years if we do our best; and not for many generations or centuries, unless we do and persist in doing our very best to extirpate and annihilate that regard for difference of color or of race as the basis or the standard of civil or political right, which is the essence and soul of slavery.

It might be thought the better way to remove this antagonism, and effect this reconciliation, is to be tender and indulgent to those sentiments which dying slavery will leave as its legacy of evil to the Southern mind and heart. But words must be wasted on one whom facts have not already taught that any efforts at conciliation with slavery or its influence—for what efforts of this kind have been withheld?—only feed its arrogance and hatred. And common sense tells every one that indulgence of the cause of a mischief is the poorest possible way of getting rid of the mischief.

Thus far, in my former paper and in this, I have considered only what safety and justice require of us to do. Let me now approach the other question: In what way and by what means shall we do what it is at once our duty and our right to do in the best way we can?

To this question I can give an immediate answer. The rebel States should be held as in the grasp of war, or under military possession or government, until they come to the country with a Constitution which provides—NOT that negroes shall vote; NOR that the State shall never alter its Constitution; NOR that it shall have less power than any other State of affixing what limitation it will to the elective franchise; but simply that no concession of and no limitation of the elective franchise shall ever be founded upon or regulated by a difference of color.

Let me not be misunderstood. I should greatly regret the indiscriminate concession of the elective franchise to all the negroes of the South just as they now are. I would have this franchise carefully protected by the best limitations which can be devised to prevent, as far as may be, its falling into unfit hands. I would let the several States affix these limitations. But my point is, that we shall have no peace in this country until these limitations are wholly independent of color or race.

It may be asked, has not President Johson determined this question, so far as one precedent may do it, by his proclamation concerning North Carolina? The negroes cannot vote in the election of members of the convention, whose business it is "to restore the State to its constitutional relations with the Federal government." The Federal Executive might very properly resort for the definition of the right to vote for the members of the Convention to the law of the State before the rebellion, adding only adequate precaution to prevents its exercise by the disloyal. The very thing now to be desired is, that the State may be held under the power of the Federal government until *the white voters* of the State present a Constitution providing against any dependence of the elective franchise upon race or color.

Now, let it be remembered, that the appointment of a "Provisional Governor" for a special purpose, in no degree whatever lessens the hold of the Federal government upon the State, or renounces its power; it is in fact an exercise of this power—and the "Military Commander of the Department," so far from being displaced, is ordered to assist the Provisional Governor in the discharge of this special duty.

The main question is this. Has the Convention not only the power to present *any* Constitution which it will, but must the Federal government accept the Constitution, if it be only republican, however disloyal it may be; or however unsatisfactory? It seems to be clear that it is not so. The Convention is to present "*such* a republican form of State government as will entitle it to the guaranty of the United States." It is obvious the "such" must be passed upon the question, whether the Constitution presented be *such* a Constitution. This question the President will not probably undertake to determine alone. The natural course would be to refer it to Congress, which will be in session when, or soon after, the Constitution having been submitted to the people by the Convention and approved by them, is presented for consideration.

I am not without the hope that the Convention will, whether from a sense of justice or from a belief that otherwise their labor would be useless, present a Constitution providing against this wrongful distinction. I hope, more confidently, that the public opinion of the free States will be clear and strong and manifest by that time, and will find in Congress no unwilling instrument; and therefore that a Constitution containing or permitting a difference of civil or pountical rights founded on difference of color or race, will be rejected; and thus a precedent established in the right direction.

But what are we to do with Tennessee, Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri? I do not know all the facts sufficiently to form a definite opinion. But I am aiming at a practical good; and if circumstances compel the admission of Constitutions in those States with this mischievous distinction, I should regret it, as I regret that it is found in some of the Constitutions of the free States. But I should consider the great work done, and well done, if all the other slave States can be held under military government, as they certainly can be, until they offer a Constitution free from this distinction; then, it would not long survive anywhere.

But how long must they be so held! A month, a year, or fifty years, as the case may require. We cannot answer this question, but they can. The sooner they come back in the right way, and the only right way, the better. The longer military government must remain, the more it may be hoped that the sense of equality before the law, habits of self-support, the enjoyment of family rights and relations, education, and the enforced suppression of disorder and cruelty, may prepare for the possession of the power of self-government, both blacks and whites.

I am perfectly aware that the Constitution of the State may be changed at any time. This difficulty is not, so far as I can see, to be overcome. But while the Constitution remains, the absence of all political distinction between blacks and whites will be as an organic condition of the existence of the State. Congress has before it, at every session, questions of disputed elections. The universal rule and practice is to reject illegal votes, and indeed there can be no other rule. And if a man presents himself to either House at whose election votes in sufficient number were refused, either by fraud or personal wrong, or by a law which directly violated the Constitution of the State, can any one doubt as to the right or the duty of the House to declare the election void?

Cambridge. T. P.

RECONSTRUCTION.

JOHN STUART MILL, the eminent English Liberal and writer on the Science of government, has addressed the following letter to a friend in this city:

AVIGNON, May 13, 1865.

DEAR SIR: I had scarcely received your note of April 8, so full of calm joy in the splendid prospect now opening to your country, and through it to the world, when the news came that an atrocious crime had struck down the great citizen who had afforded so noble an example of the qualities befitting the first magistrate of a free people, and who, in the most trying circumstances, had gradually won not only the admiration but almost the personal affection of all who love freedom or appreciate simplicity and uprightness. But the loss is ours, not his. It was impossible to have wished him a better end than the crown of martyrdom to his other honors, and to live in the memory of a great nation as those only live who have not only labored for their country but died for it. And he did live to see the cause triumphant and the contest virtually over. How different would our feelings now be if this fate had overtaken him, as it might so easily have done, a month sooner!

In England, horror of the crime and sympathy with your loss seem to be almost universal, even among those who have disgraced their country by wishing success to the slaveholders. I hope the manifestations which were instantaneously made there in almost every quarter may be received in America as some kind of atonement or peace-offering. I have never believed that there was any real danger of a quarrel between the two countries; but it is of immense importance that we should be firm friends; and this is our natural state, for, though there is a portion of the higher and middle classes of Great Britain who so dread and hate democracy that they cannot wish prosperity and power to a democratic people, I sincerely believe that this feeling is not general, even in our privileged classes. Most of the dislike and suspicion which have existed toward the United States were the effect of pure ignorance; ignorance of your history, and ignorance of your feeling and disposition as a people. It is difficult for you to believe that this ignorance could be as dense as it really was. But the late events have begun to dissipate it; and if your government and people act as I fully believe they will in regard to the important questions which now await them, there will be no fear of their being ever again so grossly misunderstood, at least in the lives of the present generation.

As to the mode of dealing with these great questions, it does not become a foreigner to advise those who know the exigencies of the case so much better than he does. But as so many of my countrymen are volunteering advice to you at this crisis, perhaps I may be forgiven if I offer mine the contrary way. Every one is eagerly inculcating gentleness, and only gentleness, as if you had shown any signs of a disposition to take a savage revenge. I have always been afraid of one thing only—that you would be too gentle. I should be sorry to see any life taken after the war is over (except those of the assassins), or any evil inflicted in mere vengeance; but one thing I hope will be considered absolutely necessary; to break altogether the power of the slaveholding caste. Unless this is done, the abolition of slavery will be merely nominal. If an aristocracy of ex-slaveholders remain masters of the State Legislatures, they will be able effectually to nullify a great part of the result which has been so dearly bought by the blood of the free States. They and their dependents must be effectually outnumbered at the polling places; which can only be effected by the concession of full equality of political rights to negroes and by a large immigration of settlers from the North; both of them being made independent by the ownership of land. With these things, in addition to the Constitutional Amendment (which will enable the Supreme Court to set aside any State legislation tending to bring back slavery in disguise), the cause of Freedom is safe, and the opening words of the Declaration of Independence will cease to be a reproach to the nation founded by its authors.

I am, dear sir, yours very truly,

J. S. MILL.

THE SUFFRAGE QUESTION.

[The following is a letter from William Beach Lawrence to Senator Sumner on the Suffrage question, and is of consequence from the character and position of its author. Mr. Lawrence is a jurist of great learning, but has been known always as an extreme conservative, as a defender of slavery *per se*, and has by no means been free from suspicion of active sympathy with the Rebellion. He is the Editor of the last edition of "Wheaton's International Law," and his elaborate notes to that volume are written always with a strong leaning to the Southern or Secession view of the questions discussed. His present testimony is therefore all the more remarkable and valuable.]

"As you are aware, I have hitherto differed from you *toto cœlo* on all the questions growing out of the existence of two races differing in physical conformation in the same country, and that, while not denying that there were great objections to the then established system, I opposed, in every way open to a private individual, a disruption of those relations, on which I conceived, owing to the peculiar products of the slave labor of the South, the material prosperity of the world depended, as well as the common interests of both races. It was, I then thought, impossible by attempting to liberate them and to keep them among us, to prevent the extinction, without leaving any posterity, of four millions of sentient beings. Such, I argued, had been the fate of those who, in a state of *quasi* liberty, had in our Northern States come in contact their masters, yet, as a dominant class, as effectually prevented the moral and social advancement of the free colored man, as if the sternest slave code was still in force.

"I well remember when all negroes and mulattoes were in New York excluded from every employment except of the most servile character. No license could be obtained by one of them to drive a cart, nor were they permitted to learn the ordinary mechanical trades, as any association with them was derogatory to the white apprentice. I recollect that, when in college, it was a matter of astonishment among the students how a black man, who had obtained quite a distinguished clientage, had learned his trade. It was ascertained that he had had the good fortune to be a convict in the state prison, from whence he had graduated an accomplished boot and shoe maker.

"Even the States which granted political rights, accompanied them with some derogatory distinction, as in New York, where a special freehold qualification was required from a colored voter. This State retains to this day on her statute-book a law not only rendering void all intermarriages between whites and negroes and mulattoes, but subjecting to a penalty of two hundred dollars the person celebrating the marriage. With the descendants of the Africans are included also our American Indians. It is possible to imagine that such a law can have any practical effect, except to substitute with those who may desire such relations, that concubinage which our Northern morality has held out as one of the worst phases of Southern slavery. It would seem to be a mere stigma on the proscribed races, without any mitigating apology.

"Were the status of the population of the United States, North and South, white and black, what it was in 1859, there is nothing which I then urged on public attention that I should feel disposed to change. It would, however, now be absurd to argue against the irresistible logic of facts. No one can deny that, practically, African slavery in the United States is at an end. Those who doubted the policy or expediency of emancipation may, therefore, well unite with the most ardent Abolitionists in the adoption of such measures as may best comport with the new order of things. Every friend of humanity must desire to avert from the freedom of the South that fate, which, owing to the powerless condition of the emancipated Northern slave and the exceptional relations between the two races, has constituted the strongest argument against the abolition of the old system. We are called on now to solve the problem how two distinct races can coexist in the same country, without the individuals of the one being subject to the will of the individuals of the other; and this problem is to be solved on the most gigantic scale.

"The sole question is, whether four millions of people who possess the same freedom from personal restraint and the same liberty of doing what they please as the other inhabitants of the country, and who compose, in certain localities, a population equal, if not greater, than that of the party to which the political power is attributed, shall be an integral portion of the body politic—or whether for all purposes of government, including those of self-protection, they shall remain practically alien. It is only by sharing in the right of electing their rulers that those avenues to knowledge, by which their moral and intellectual standard is to be elevated, can be secured. It is the only way by which they can be protected from that exclusion, even from mechanical pursuits, which so long embarrassed the emancipated slaves of the North. Without the franchise, it may be doubted whether the partial affranchisement is not a positive injury instead of a benefit, as they may be entirely at the mercy of a hostile legislature. Objectionable as were in many respects the ancient relations between masters and servants, under ordinary circumstances the latter had in the former, at least against third parties, a protection, which can now only be supplied by the power of the individual to protect himself, as a component member of the community.

"As a mere matter of policy, I can have no doubt of what expediency would dictate, and if the horrors which marked the transition from slavery to freedom in San Domingo are to be averted in our extreme Southern settlements, it can be the most effectually done by making the emancipated slave at once comprehend that he has already everything that he can hope to gain by an insurrectionary movement.

"I well remember, many years since, to have been deeply impressed by a remark made to me at my house in New York by Mr. Phillips, of Salem, then a member of Congress, as to the efficiency of universal suffrage as a protection against lawless outrages. He ascribed to it that absence from riots for which our great American cities were then justly distinguished. The ballot-box he said, operated as a safety valve, through which passed thousands of real or imaginary grievances, which might otherwise have vented themselves in open tumults.

"These views are not now for the first time expressed. Ever since I have been in this State I have earnestly and zealously contended for the abrogation of a provision of our Constitution, for which no analogy is to be found in that of any other State, unless it is in the discrimination against colored voters in New York. I refer to the freehold qualification required from naturalized citizens only, and which I conceive to be at variance with the spirit of the United States Constitution, which, by imposing certain disabilities, meant to make them equal with natives in all other respects. A freehold qualification may be required from all voters, but not from one class, while universal suffrage is accorded to all other classes of citizens. My argument is that all citizens, whether naturalized or native, whether with blue or black eyes, are in the same precise category, and any restrictions must apply equally to all, and if colored persons are to be deemed citizens, the conclusion is inevitable that they stand, as to all political rights, in the same position with the whites.

"It is only on the doctrine of the Dred Scott case, which excludes from being citizens of the United States all persons of African descent, and allows to each State the right to give a qualified State citizenship, that such discriminations as that which exists in the Constitution of New York can be maintained. If the opinion of Chief-Justice Taney be the decision on the point presented, and not a dictum only, it is presumed that, with the feelings now prevalent, it would be overruled on the first occasion, if it has not already been. I have, therefore, assumed that negroes and mulattoes are citizens, and they have also been so recognized by the executive and legislative departments of the government of the United States.

"The same arguments, however, which have effectually in this State maintained the disfranchisement of naturalized citizens, may prevail in those cases in which the State Constitution makes the discrimination against colored persons, as long as those State Constitutions remain in force. To consider how far the validity of those Constitutions, in general, is affected by recent events, would lead to a discussion beyond my present limits. It is evident that if any argument as to the Rhode Island constitution, in its discrimination between native and naturalized citizens, be correct, the new *status* of the colored man would abrogate, wherever it exists, the provisions of the State Constitutions excluding him from the same political privileges as are enjoyed by other citizens.

"But there is another point in connection with this subject, for which I contended when a proposition was made here some years ago for a Constitutional Convention. I mean the right of every member of the community to participate in the formation of the organic law, and which is the grand principle on which all our institutions rest. You may place what restrictions you please, not incompatible with the Federal Constitution, on the future right of suffrage, but the State Constitution must originate with and be assented to by a majority of all the people, including as well those whom it disfranchises as those whom it invests with the suffrage. Such was the course, you will recollect, as to the *plebiscite*, on which the title of Napoleon III. rests, as well as in the case of the annexation of the several states of Italy to the government of Victor Emmanuel. It may also not be uninstructive to notice that the same principle was recognized, on two occasions, in the State of New York; and the present Constitution, as well as the previous one, was made by a convention elected by universal suffrage, and without regard to the qualifications required for voting by the then existing constitutions. The fact, I believe, is the same in reference to the Constitutional Conventions of other States. It seems to me that as to the colored people at the South taking part in the Conexisting Constitutions, the sole question is, are they citizens of the United States? If so, their right is perfect.

"By the by, the term citizen, in the sense in which we employ it, is unknown to English law, and Attorney-General Cushing, equally with Attorney-General Bates, was unable to give a satisfactory definition of what was meant by a citizen of the United States. We must, therefore, look elsewhere for it. In the constitutional governments of Europe, voter and citizen are equivalent. 'The right of citizenship *(droit de cité)*,' says the Dutch publicist Thorbecke, 'is the right of voting in the government of the local, provincial, or national community of which one is a member.'

"It was, as you well remember, the disabilities to which the free colored people were subjected in the free States which induced Chancellor Kent, in his Commentaries, to deny to them the title of 'citizens,' and to distinguish them as 'native subjects.' It is a solecism to call those citizens who are perpetually disabled from aspiring to the elective franchise; and declaring a person a citizen, logically carries with it all the attributes attached to that character.

"I have written the preceding *calamo currente*, but though my language has not been studied, the views are the result of deep reflection.

"I am, yours truly, W. B. LAWRENCE."

NEW ENGLAND FREEDMANS' AID SOCIETY.

From the Boston Daily Advertiter.

THE annual meeting of this association was held in the Music Hall in the evening. Judge Thomas Russell presided.

Judge Bond of Baltimore was the next speaker and was received with cheers. He said that it was an erroneous idea that slavery was dead. Truth crushed to earth will rise again, and so will a lie. One form of slavery is dead, but how multifarious its forms may be, remains for history to develop. The South is to come back and take part in the government of the United States. The questions before the American people are, how the States shall come back, upon what terms they shall come back, and what we shall dictate to them, not what they shall ask. They exist now as States without government. The Constitution requires that we shall give them a republican form of government. If you give the government to all the people of the United States, there is no question but what they will have it. Who has bewitched Bostonians to think that the men who are to come to Congress from these States will ever vote for a revenue bill which is to pay a debt which was run up in whipping them. How many of them have the bonds of the United States? How many of them have not got the bonds of the Southern confederacy?

Slavery exists in everything except name throughout the South, and how is it to be abolished? There is but one way, that way is to give the freedmen the fundamental power of the citizen—the ballot. Another erroneous idea, said the speaker, is that we must have some test, some limitation upon the right to vote. This is a question of dynamics. The more power I can get on my side the better I like it. The more negroes I can get to vote on my side the better. But you say how can you do this? Their State Constitutions are against it. Didn't the people of Maryland abolish their Constitution, and the people of North Carolina four years ago? We did not acknowledge the new thing they made, but we all acknowledged the right of the people to abolish their Constitution. Their old Constitutions are abolished, and if you go back to the Constitution of the United States you must call upon the people of the United States, living in these States, to form their government. Then in Virginia we shall have a majority of the people on our side about whose loyalty there is no question. In South Carolina we shall have nearly the whole. We shall divide the Southern vote and prevent from going to Congress those who will resist the payment of the United States debt and repudiate it. Judge Bond then advocated the educating of the freedmen. They exhibited, he said, more capacity than any foreign emigrants who landed on our shores. There were less criminals among the blacks proportionally than among the whites. The negro, he said, has got as much intelligence as his master, and a great deal more loyalty. There is no safety for the South if the black man is not given the right to vote, if the cup of freedom they were about to drink is dashed from their lips, and they are told it was all a mistake. The returning of Anthony Burns to slavery is but a very small thing, he said, compared to returning a whole nation to slavery. Let North Carolina and every

other State knock, and knock again, until they are tired, unless they do as Maryland has done—unless there shall be neither slavery or involuntary servitude in it except for crime, and unless they have given the colored people the only thing that will protect them—the elective franchise. Judge Bond spoke at considerable length, and the views he expressed elicited the hearty approbation of the audience.

THE FORCE OF THE LABOR DESTINY.

From the Cincinnati (O) Gazette, June 7.

THE freed negro has had bountiful notices from all sorts of government officials and from philanthropic speakers that he must understand that although he is free he must work, and must not expect that the government will support him in idleness. Is it not time that some one was bestowing some of this benevolent advice or menace on the free whites of the South? So far as experience goes, they are the class that expect to live without work, and to be supported by the labor of others, and we think an account would show that the Southern whites have expected and received much more support from the government than the blacks. Why is it that the only class in the South that the government has found willing to work, receives all the exhortations and warnings to labor, while the class that always lived by the labor of others is omitted as if it had no lesson of self-support to learn?

Is there not in all this an idea that the whites expect the former relation to continue under a different name? The course of the landholders of the South, as we gather it from the Southern journals that have been resurrected or started anew, under a shallow pretense of accepting existing facts, exhibits no disposition to accommodate themselves to existing conditions; but on the contrary, they show a determination to exclude the blacks from opportunities to labor, in order to demonstrate that emancipation is a failure. For this many are letting their lands lie uncultivated, while the idleness of the freed blacks is the principal theme of these journals.

But the design trips itself, for not content with showing that the freed negroes will not work, these statements also tell that many of them are begging for work at wages much less than the cost of their subsistence in slavery. This is in order to show how much worse the condition of the blacks is now. We have seen in the same article charges that the blacks were idle, and statements that one offered to work for $13 a year, and another for his board; and as even blacks are too smart to beg for work without wages when wages are offered, we conclude that these are samples of the wages their former masters offered.

We do not expect that the relation of slavery can be overthrown without a disturbance of labor. Slavery is a poor training for freedom. Even the emancipated Israelites had to be kept in the wilderness until all the old stock died. But in this case the chief difficulty grows out of the fact of a master class holding the lands—the only means of subsistance—accustomed to live by the unpaid labor of the negroes, and still determined to do it, if their lands go uncultivated until the negroes shall be reduced to their terms. The Southern planters are by no means convinced that slavery is abolished. They look upon it as still an open question, and are fighting it with all the savage spirit that belongs to slavery.

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 17, 1865.

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS.

IN the Period of Panoramas a few years ago, an artist painted the views of a voyage on the Mississippi river. In his exhibitions he told this story:

He was drifting one night by moonlight not far from the shore, when he passed a house, so near, as that he could hear the music and see the dancing of a merry-making. Not long after, he came to another, almost exactly like the first. He thought little about it, but very soon he was surprised at finding himself passing a third, of similar character. This awakened his attention, and he discovered that he was sweeping round in one of those mysterious whirlpools sometimes found; swallowed in the miniature Maelstrom.

From the high bluffs of a moral outlook, the political and religious Press of the country presents a view very similar to that circling navigator in his moonshine. Both appear to sail without chart, compass or object, unless for the sake of the sailing, as they seem to have no port or haven in view.

If they are pointed to the great polar-star of principle, they answer much as did the old slave Mopus, in Mr. Olmsted's "Atlantic Seaboard States." Left one night in charge of the craft of which he and his master constituted the entire crew, he was told to keep her running exactly toward the North star, then in full view. The skipper then turned in to take a nap. Soon after, the wind changed, and while Mopus was busy filling and lighting his pipe, the boat swung round and put off South, before a stiff breeze, and when the captain awaked he found himself back to the point left hours before. "What have you been about, you black rascal," he roared out to old Mope. "Didn't I tell you to keep her heading straight to the North star?" "O yes, massa, but den de lord a'mighty you do' know how she run—we passed by de North star, two hours ago."

Such, largely, is newspaper navigation in our country to-day. It has reference to no principle; respect for no law of eternal right.

In peace the religious press bears the greatest sway. In war the political. In war, the former takes refuge in the latter, like women and children in a garrison, in Indian, or border alarms. But under the influence of both, we drift round and round, as interest, caprice or passion impels us.

And so a new journal, like a new sect, becomes a necessity, if a divine man, or a new truth, is let loose in the world.

Almost a hundred years ago, we launched our ship of state, full rigged for a brave race with the nations. Our chart was the Declaration of Independence—"All men created equal," was inscribed on every banner.

True, we had five hundred thousand slaves; but then we regarded them as only so many curses, inflicted or entailed by Great Britain, to be soon swept out of existence as slaves, and born into new life as men, by the genius of the new dispensation. Slavery, however, soon became a source of profit, as was believed, and then it became both the "peculiar" and most cherished institution. The Declaration of Independence was postponed or repealed in its behalf. The Constitution was interpreted into its service and security; and the Bible, Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha, was declared by almost the whole American Church to contain God's curse upon Cain, Canaan, or some black offender, ante or poste deluvian, whose sins sentenced him and his posterity to slavery, forever and ever, and constituted his paler brothers executioners of the Divine displeasure!

And so our new land of promise, our "Paradise Regained," our Eden "restored from the ruins of the Fall"; became at once a lake of fire and brimstone to Ethiopian sinners, where they must weep and wail and gnash their teeth.

> "For broken laws,
> Five thousand years 'fore their creation
> Through Canaan's cause!"

We hewed our way out of British tyranny with the sword. That done, we exchanged the sword for the sceptre and insignia of slaveholders, to become worse tyrants and despots than the earth then bore on her bosom, or has borne since. From half a million victims we multiplied the number seven fold. We extended the slave territory in similar proportion by fraud, falsehood, robbery and war, and greatly augmented the horrors of the system. We enacted Fugitive Slave laws, at which Nero should have shuddered, and executed them with the point of the bayonet, at the base of Bunker Hill, and in the very shadow of Faneuil Hall.

We stripped from the negro the right of suffrage in almost every State. For, be it known, fifty years ago, the free colored man enjoyed that sacred right, in nearly every State of the Union.

Thus recklessly we dashed along over almost a hundred Fourths of July, as though God had no ear for the cry of the enslaved, or thunderbolts for their deliverance, until Infinite Patience would endure no more. The fearful events of the last four years tell the rest.

In all this time, liberty of the Press has been largely enjoyed in the North, political, pictorial, literary and religious, but to what purpose? It has been the pillar of cloud by day and of fire by night. It has conducted us round and round, ignisfatuus like, from the Declaration of Independence to the Dred Scott decision, which unblushingly inculcated, that Africa had no rights which America, boasted land of Equal Liberty, was bound to respect; and onward still in crime and cruelty we have followed it, until we dashed ourselves against the frowning rocks of that righteous indignation, at which, long ago, Jefferson and many good men trembled.

And now we enter on a new career. We seal the dread volume of the past with the blood of half a million brave men, and open a new dispensation. To rebuild the ruins, is the work of the present hour. Some there are who would dig deep and lay our foundations on that rock of eternal justice, which underpins the moral universe. One voice, at least, is heard, demanding that negro suffrage be enacted as a measure of policy as well as of principle. He believes that the only way to secure lasting Peace to the country in the general, was to adopt that measure; and to avoid being loaded down with the Confederate Debt in special, we must surely retain the supremacy in the hands of the present Administration, and not allow it to be overborne by a return to power of Southern rebels, and their more desperate and dangerous allies at the North. In such an evil emergency, he declares he would have the rebel debt repudiated, at whatever cost.

An enemy tortures the telegraph into a lying report of the address, and forthwith the whole Press, religious, political and literary, with a very few honorable exceptions, howls with indignant horror, that the cry of *Repudiation* of the National Debt, has been raised in a quarter too influential to be overlooked!

In a few days, however, the falsehood was exposed and the truth appears.

But the Press now makes no haste. Slowly, if at all, it retracts the slanderous reports, for which it is so largely responsible. The *Evening Post*, true to its noble self, refused to be a party in the calumny.

But the course of the *Tribune* seems most inexplicable of all. It not only doubts the correctness of the report, but it absolutely begins to prepare the North for the assumption and payment of that very Confederate Debt! It says:

"But let us accept, for the moment, the authorized version of Mr. Phillips's threat, and still we hold it most objectionable and immoral. We hold that a Public Debt can only be invalidated by the solemn judgment of a competent judicial tribunal that it was assumed or incurred without due authority.

"The war on Mexico for example, was, in our view, a most unjust and wholly unnecessary war—one that should not have been commenced and need not have been prosecuted. We opposed that war to the utmost limit of our constitutional right; yet we never threatened to repudiate the debt incurred by it, nor to refuse to pay taxes levied to support it. So of the Ten Millions to Texas. So the Federalists, who abhorred the last war with Great Britain, never questioned the validity and obligation of the debt incurred in its prosecution."

The *Tribune* admits the possibility at least of an assumption of the Rebel Debt, says it would naturally be inextricably mixed up with other debts, and then asks, how you would set about repudiating it? would you also repudiate these? "Could you tell what to repudiate?"

Precisely by this mode of reasoning was the war with Mexico induced. At first, the annexation of Texas was opposed by the Whig party of the North, nearly to a man. Twenty members of Congress, the venerable John Quincy Adams at their head, issued a manifesto "To the People of the North," in which they declare "that annexation effected by any act or proceeding of the Federal government, or any of its departments, would be identical with dissolution." And they farther said that such an attempt "to eternize an institution and power of nature, so unjust in themselves, so injurious to the interests, and abhorrent to the feelings of the people of the free States, in our opinion, would not only inevitably result in a dissolution of the Union, but would fully justify it!" And we not only assert that the people of the free States ought not to submit to it, but we say with confidence, *they would not submit to it.*"

And so, *for a time*, said the entire North.

And yet that Whig party accepted the measure of annexation, of course, under protest. Then came the Mexican massacre, dignified with the name of war, but disgracing the word war, forever more. The war, [illegible] protested by the Whig party, [illegible] opposition with assuredly draw retribution after it. Disregard as many lessons as you may, another and another will come until the purpose is answered for which the first was given. Our obstinacy cannot divert or weary out God's course of discipline. We have had plague after plague, increasing in severity, to drive us to reformation. We have had even the deaths of the first-born, so that the whole North, like the South, is a land of mourning. Shall this not be sufficient? Will our official funtionaries, the executive and legislative powers, expose themselves to yet further judgments by refusing to decree and execute justice? And if they shall be stupid enough to run this fearful risk, will the people consent to share it by continued allowance of their injustice towards *our* oppressed?

To do justice, to execute righteousness in regard to our down-trodden colored population, to begin to live by the rule which, for eighty-nine years, we have made a false pretence of living by this—is all that can save us. And an indispensable element of this course is to keep all power out of the hands which have been accustomed to use it against the negro; but above all, we should keep power out of the hands of those who declare their continued opposition to the negro; men, for instance, like the delegation from Georgia who (the *Tribune* of Saturday says) had an interview with the President at Washington that very day. They announced their entire willingness to accept the abolition of slavery, and to return to the Union, but they were "unanimously opposed to negro suffrage, and in favor of magnanimity." They are said to have been "highly gratified" at their interview with the President.

The same *Tribune* contains a letter from Augustin L. Taveau, a citizen of Charleston, S. C., who is also in favor of magnanimity. He reasons the matter to the extent of a column and a half of fine print, talking not only calmly about the past and the future, but in a spirit which the *Tribune* heartily admires, believing that it will be met by a kindred exhibition of generous manliness on the part of the North. The *Tribune* begs that Mr. Taveau and his fellow-planters will deal justly and kindly by the blacks who were lately their slaves, "and lead them on through fairly rewarded industry and systematic education to enlarged usefulness, competence, and fitness for all the duties of man and citizens." But Mr. Taveau's letter makes it plain that he proposes nothing of this sort. What he does propose is the very thing which we wish to present to our readers as the most dangerous element of the present crisis.

He first claims from the North "magnanimity," by which he means an utter ignoring on their part of any guilt or dishonor in the conduct of the South, and an extension to its leaders of "the right hand of fellowship." He makes no specific reference to such trifles as the perjury, treachery, and theft, which prepared the way for the rebellion, nor to the piracies, murders, and outrages of every atrocious sort that accompanied it. So much does he seem to take it for granted that these were appropriate means to a good end, and so little does he conceive the applicability of moral considerations to our late contest, that he seriously asks, in regard to the North—"Ought she not rather to be proud of the bravery shown by her natural allies?" He hopes that the North will not, by any deficiency in the sort of magnanimity above described, "compel the South to withdraw that hearty approval which she gave to Gen. Lee's surrender." Could impudence go further? Wait, reader, before deciding, until you have read the next item.

In regard to slavery, this is his idea. That once vexatious and formidable question is now, he trusts, forever buried, Providence having seen fit to interpose, and raise up John Quincy Adams to destroy it. That was his mission. "And"—Saint Augustin proceeded to say—"as Christian men, we must accept it in this light, and like Job, who after the loss of oxen and asses, flock and slaves, refused to curse God, say 'The Lord hath given, and the Lord hath taken away. Blessed be the name of the Lord')."

Calm and reasonable himself, Mr. Taveau begs his fellow Southrons not to blame the negro for taking liberty when given him by the U. S. armies. "He was well fed in his cage, but he prefers the privilege of selecting his own food; let him go"—says Mr. Taveau; and he proceeds piously to suggest—"As an all-wise God directs our affairs, perhaps it may prove that the mission of the Negro Race in this country is over, and that he was only sent here as a pioneer to clear up the wilderness for his successor, the white man; perhaps he has performed his mission, and may possibly, like the Indian, gradually disappear from his present localities."

Does he propose, then, that the Chivalry shall earn their own living? Not at all. Here is wherewith to fill that gap. An immense number of foreign immigrants are to "listen to the hymn of the Free South," and flock thither to be hired by the ex-slaveholders, who are still to retain their broad lands. (Don't you see?) And now notice this Southern picture of the *future* of the Southern gentleman. He will first hive the immigrant, "and gradually instruct him in his new task;" and then, finally, divide the old plantation into farms, and farm them out to worthy [white] tenants. Freed from the care of driving negroes, he will then, for the first time, realize the true ease and comforts of a country life; and, giving more of his time to the cultivation of his mind, he will be better fitted for the *management of the affairs of State.*

The slaveholding class are still to be the ruling class, according to Mr. Taveau. Vast numbers in the country share this idea, and will bend all their energies to realize it. The first steps are now taking in many of the rebel States which are designed to lead to this consummation. This effort should find an equal vigor and a tireless activity of opposition among all lovers of freedom. If the President should favor this Southern movement to the extent which rumor reports, all that we can say and do may prove too little to gain the one great security for future safety—Suffrage for the negro in advance of reconstruction.

WENDELL PHILLIPS'S SPEECH.

SUNDRY journals doubt the accuracy of the report of Wendell Phillips's speech which we printed last week, but there is no room for doubt. The controverted portion of that speech—everything concerning repudiation—was printed from Mr. Phillips's manuscript; and in relation to it he says in a private note, from which we take the liberty to copy—

"I sent you exactly, word for word, what I did say, having fully prepared it beforehand, and repeating it in the same terms in the afternoon of the same day."

We reprint the passage:

I look on reconstruction based on white suffrage as but another name for the assumption by the nation of the Confederate debt. The two things are parts of the same whole. No man acquainted with the present mood of the white race at the South believes that its representatives in Congress will ever vote to pay our present debt or its interest, unless theirs is included. That is one feature of reconstruction on a white basis. We are to plunge into that gulf of war debt which now threatens to swallow up the European nations. Much of their war debt was fraudulently imposed on a people unable either to resist or protest, and, in my opinion, whenever the masses there obtain their rights, they will properly and justly repudiate much of those debts.

Any imposition upon us of that Confederate debt, carried by means of white suffrage reconstruction, will be a fraud upon the people. Mr. Sumner's resolves, adopted by Congress, have attempted a barrier: an insufficient one, I fear, if this plan of reconstruction on a white basis be adopted. For myself I protest in advance against both parts of this one measure, white rebel suffrage and the assumption of rebel debts, as fraud on the people. Fraud vitiates all contracts. A man or a minority may be bound by national acts to which they silently submit; but not by those against whose validity they protest at the time. I, for one, here avow my purpose to be bound by no such fraud, however covered up. I shall, life-long, advocate repudiation of any rebel debt adopted by any such reconstructed Congress. I shall hold myself at liberty to cooperate with any party which puts on its banner, "REPUDIATION OF ALL REBEL DEBTS," no matter how sacredly such a bastard Congress may have assumed them. I invite others to join me in this avowal, till it swells to a national protest, and becomes fair and sufficient warning to all creditors.

WE take the following item from the New Orleans *Tribune* of May 21, 1865:

"*Loyal Civil Government of Louisiana.*—Hon. Louis Gastinel, having been drafted, has claimed exemption by making an affidavit that HE HAD TAKEN UP ARMS FOR THE REBELLION. Mr. Gastinel is the Lieut.-Governor, [illegible] Governor of Louisiana!

Is it the United States government or the Confederacy that has "reconstructed" Louisiana?

ABOUT PAYING THE REBEL WAR DEBT.—The Cincinnati *Gazette* says: "We cannot see how the rebel war debt could be assumed by the government without demoralizing all the obligations of the people either to pay the debt or to support a government which would thus put fidelity and treason on a par, and would lay down the same obligation to pay the debt incurred in a war to destroy the Republic, as one incurred in a war for its defence. Wendell Phillips expressed this, and his determination upon such a contingency, and he has been assailed for it by the press of both parties. The Republican papers probably labored under a misrepresentation of what he did say. They will probably make haste to relieve themselves of any implication that they would countenance the assumption of the rebel war debt, by retracting their denunciation. The Democratic journals, with whose tones they were in such complete accord, will see no necessity for any correction, for they would go first for assuming the rebel war debt, and then for repudiating both."

WE have received the original lists of subscriptions at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, and print a portion of them herewith. But the papers as forwarded to us were in such condition that it was wholly impossible to decipher all the names. Those, therefore, who find their subscriptions omitted, are requested to forward names and amount for subsequent insertion.

REV. DR. MASSIE.

As we go to press, we are greeted and gladdened by a call from the distinguished divine, and well-known friend and champion of impartial freedom, civil and religious, Rev. Dr. Massie of London, just arrived in this country. He will be well remembered by multitudes of the people East, West, and North, who had the pleasure of seeing and hearing him, when on a visit of a public, religious, and benevolent character, two years ago. To such he needs no introduction; and from such he will not fail of cordial greeting and earnest cooperation in the work of his mission. Dr. Massie brings the following certificate signed by the officers of the London Freedmen's Aid Association, which unfolds one of the principal objects of his present visit.

LONDON, May 29th, 1865.

DR. JAMES W. MASSIE, an esteemed member of the London Freedmen's Aid Association, has informed us of his intention to visit the camps of the Freedmen, in the valley of the Mississippi and in Tennessee, during the prosecution of a projected journey in the United States of America.

We commend him to the kind notice and assistance of the various Freedmen's Commissions in America, where his lot may be cast. We believe his heart is deeply engaged for the Religious, Moral, and Physical well-being of the colored inhabitants of America; and we ardently desire that his and all our labors for the good of others may be blessed by God and redound to his glory and praise.

T. FOWELL BUXTON, Chairman.
SAMUEL GURNEY, Treasurer.
WM. ALLEN, Sub-Treasurer.
STAFFORD ALLEN, Member of Committee.
FRED. TOMKINS, Hon. Secretary.

CHURCH ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE annual meeting of the Church Anti-Slavery Society was held in Worcester, as by appointment, Wednesday evening the 31st ult., at the Summer St. Chapel. A letter was presented, tendering his resignation as President, from Rev. J. C. Webster, late of Hopkinton, now removed to Wheaton College, Ill. The resignation was not accepted, and the old board of officers was reelected, with the substitution of two new names from this city on the Executive Committee. The following resolutions, submitted by the Secretary, Rev. Henry T. Cheever, were discussed and adopted.

1. Resolved, That at this the seventh annual meeting of a Society designed to be the exponent of the Christian Church in regard to the sin of American slavery and the care of its victims, we naturally turn to its origin with a Convention of Christian Brethren in this city of Worcester, united in a deep conviction of the inherent sinfulness of slaveholding, and that the Churches of Christ in our land, of every denomination, should be arrayed against it as the organic and towering iniquity of the nation, in order that the "Word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified"; and in order that the nation itself perish not by the terrible cancer which has already made such an inroad upon its constitution."

2. That we humbly bow to the sovereignty of the Supreme Ruler, who has not chosen the peaceful agency of His people, but the scourge of a wasteful civil war, to bring an end to a system of enormities which bade defiance to every regulation which ingenuity could devise or power effect, but a TOTAL EXTINCTION.

3. That while we deem the foul *system* of American slavery as virtually ended, our duty as a Society is by no means done, nor its mission ended, until the word WHITE is erased from all State Constitutions and Statutes of legislation, nor until the loyal negro, everywhere, is intrusted with the ballot, as the acknowledged right of American citizenship, and his own special protection against the rancorous hate and intolerance of his late disloyal oppressors.

4. That among the events which have crowded the year, calling for devout gratitude on the part of Christian Abolitionists, none is more significant than the admission to the bar of the U. S. Supreme Court at Washington, of a representative of the race, in regard to which history was infamously suborned to testify in that very Court but a few years ago, that they had no rights which white men were bound to respect.

5. That in the person of the colored advocate, John S. Rock, of Mass., before the U. S. Supreme Court, Chief Justice Taney's impious decision, that negroes could not be held as citizens of the United States, has been virtually revoked. And the judicial crime of such a decision having been expiated in the baptism of blood through which the nation has since passed, it may now be hoped that Divine Justice will be satisfied; and that the first Representative of the colored race before the National Tribunal of Justice will prove a ROCK not of offence but of defence to the freedom of his race, the liberties of his country, and the rights of manhood.

6. Resolved finally, That we stand in solemn and adoring awe of Almighty God, who has suffered the late expiring act of slavery (while putting a nation to grief for the honored dead), to reveal to the world its own inherent baseness as well as that of the malignant rebellion naturally born of it, and its just desert of the felon's doom. And we do now but express the plain requisition of Christianity, as well as the only safe policy for the nation, in requiring from Our National Government the exaction of the right of suffrage for the entire body of loyal freedmen, in all the States lately in rebellion; so that there may be secured to the people of those States a Republican form of government, and THE EQUALITY OF ALL MEN BEFORE THE LAW.

SOUTH CAROLINA.

WE print below an extract from a very interesting letter. The writer is one of the shrewdest, most trustworthy, and unprejudiced of observers. His official position has given him excellent opportunity to judge of the sentiment prevailing in South Carolina. We commend his testimony to our readers as eminently worthy of attention.

SOUTH CAROLINA, May 30, 1865.

To WENDELL PHILLIPS, *Esq.*—*My very dear Friend:* The war is over, and I am getting ready to return home. Whether the regiment will be mustered out before the expiring of its term or not I cannot say; but the majority of the officers will leave as soon as possible.

On the 14th of next month I shall have served three years. My date of muster is July 2d, on which day I expect to leave.

I have travelled through a considerable portion of South Carolina, particularly the section South of Santee river; have talked with all ranks and conditions of men and women; and have arrived at the conclusion that the number of loyal white persons is infinitesimally small. I have only met with two, and one of these was rather doubtful. They are *subdued*, not convinced or converted. *The only genuine friends of the United States are the blacks*, with a *very* few exceptions.

The majority are satisfied that further fighting is useless, "You are the conquerors," they say; "we are the conquered, and must submit to your terms."

The degree of *ignorance* which prevails among all classes is scarcely credible. The idlest and silliest rumors are eagarly believed, even by educated folks. Nearly every one thinks that slavery might be restored, if they keep quiet—that the Copperheads will manage that for them. They believe that we are about to assume the Confederate debt, in part, by stamping their rebel rags with a United States stamp of a lower denomination! Dr. Harrold, an Episcopal priest (and an intelligent man, too), asked me if the North would not be willing to establish a system of apprenticeship for the negroes! To a man they think that that double-dyed villain Robert E. Lee, will get his old position in our regular army; and that the old hoary villains of politicians will resume their seats, and recommence their old practice of torturing the body politic.

But the women are by far the worst. They still believe that Jeff. Davis will come out right side up somehow; they "love that grey uniform"; they ask "what the United States flag is like?" and we are educating them in this respect by suspending it in festoons over every door, so that they are obliged to walk under the hated symbol when they come to beg for rations or transportation. Next to the women in virulence are the officers, the "Majors," and "Colonels," and "Generals," who flaunt about the streets in full rebel uniform—everything except the sword! Gen. —— had a talk with one "Gen." Lovell the other day, and he came down from Columbia to Orangeburg in full dress, with his "staff" ditto. It is a grand mistake to suppose that such persons will be conciliated by allowing them to play such pranks; and it might be worth while to inquire whether the feelings of honest Union soldiers should not be taken into account. The rank and file form the best part of the Southern population. They are heartily tired of the war, and conduct themselves with more propriety than any other class of the natives.

I have been engaged in visiting plantations, at the owners' request, with a view to assist in making labor contracts with their former slaves. A Commission has now been appointed for that purpose, and I am heartily glad of it; for a more disagreeable task I never undertook before. There is but one remedy for the South—viz: colonization by means of immigrants from the North and from Europe, with the right of suffrage granted to all who can read and write, irrespective of color.

I remain, my dear friend,
Yours ever,

THE following extracts from another private letter just received from Charleston, are entitled to the fullest belief—the writer being a calm and competent on-looker upon the general condition of affairs in that State:

"I think this rebellious spirit might have been crushed out, or at least kept at bay, had the proper influences been exerted by the ruling powers. But there has been too much truckling; too much conciliation; too much downright sympathy manifested on the part of officials toward the bitter, disloyal class; and too much disregard for, and bitter contempt toward the blacks, the only loyal element found in this accursed hot-bed of treason.

"I have seen men compelled to contend, even fiercely, against not only the native abettors of treason and disloyalty, but against, the military, who have been the pretended defence and protection of the loyal and helpless.

"Peaceable colored citizens have been kicked out of their homes, knocked down in the streets, bled with brickbats and bayonets, cut with knives, pounded and malled in their places of business by United States soldiers, and that too, in some instances within my own knowledge, at the instigation, and for the gratification of returned rebel officers and soldiers, who have just completed a four years' campaign of blood and murder against the defenders of our (should be) glorious Union.

"Liberty to the four millions of bondmen may have been proclaimed, but it is not enjoyed. Those former lords of Southern soil, whom our bayonets and bullets have spared, are returning to their estates, wreaking their vengeance upon the defenceless remnants of their former chattels, still whipping, starving, shooting them into their accustomed obedience and drudging service. Within twenty miles of Charleston, and not a quarter of that distance from detachments of our army, men are shot down, who attempt to assert their freedom by leaving the old plantation. Whole plantations of negroes are worked in chain-gangs, tied and whipped, till they acknowledge themselves contented with their old condition, and willing to work as in the former times. The forests from Charleston to Summerville, from Summerville to Branchville, from Branchville to Orangeburg, from Orangeburg to Columbia, from Columbia to Augusta are fetid with the decaying bodies of colored men, who have been shot down when trying to escape from their oppressors; and this, too, since peace was declared and liberty proclaimed throughout the land. The sword, having been sufficiently glutted, has by general consent been returned to its scabbard; but this terrible question of reconstruction, and that other of equally vital importance, the complete restoration of the four millions to the rights and privileges of freedom; how and when are they to be met? Who can be relied upon to grapple with them, with sufficient heart and earnestness to ensure their success?

"I might, perhaps, with some propriety, claim exemption from farther labor and endurance for the oppressed in this city of Charleston. Do not Federal bayonets bristle at the corner of every street? Are there not plenty of Northern mercantile and commercial men in every part of the city? Did not the reporter of the Boston *Journal* carry our auction-block to the "Hub of the Universe" and exhibit it as a monstrosity? Do not Governor Macgrath and Mayor Macbeth both say that the government of the United States must be respected here and obeyed? And yet, so little sympathy is expressed for the poor Freedmen, so little interest is manifested in their behalf, that if less than a half dozen of their friends should be withdrawn, they would go praying that God would, in great mercy, care for and protect his 'little ones.' Sufficient of powder and shot may have been expended, but the work of philanthropy and mercy has but just commenced. I am sometimes disheartened at the magnitude of the work before this nation; but cheer up with the resolve, that so far as I am individually concerned, no right or comfort or blessing of any kind shall be withheld from this long-enslaved people, which depends upon my efforts or my life.

"It was voted at a large public gathering, when Mr. Garrison, Thompson, and others were here, that the old Anti-Slavery Society should celebrate the next 4th of July in Charleston and that Wendell Phillips should be chief orator. We do not hear much of it since, though I think if Mr. Redpath remains here we shall try and bring it about. He is talking of going North, and if he should go before that time, we may fail. He is a wonderful worker, and has wrought wonders here, in the public schools and other ways."

PERSONAL.

The sale of the sketches of the late John Leech has realized about $20,000 for his family, and the Queen has added a modest pension.

Mr. Guinness, the great brewer of Dublin stout, has been knighted, and his beer bottles will henceforth bear the title of Sir Benjamin. What wonder is it that Tennyson hesitates to accept this doubtful compliment?

Gen. Canby has, by orders from Secretary Stanton, hunted out and arrested the man who offered last Winter, in an Alabama paper, to be one of a certain number of persons to pay a million dollars for the murder of Mr. Lincoln, and he is on his way, under guard, to Washington.

It is understood, says a Washington correspondent, that Mrs. Bessy or Betsy Perrine has been found guilty by the military commission, who have imposed a light sentence upon her. She has had an audience with the President and asks to be pardoned. The President holds the matter under consideration.

The notorious John Mitchel says in the New York *News* that he "asks and expects nothing except the benefit and protection of the laws of the land." He would find the full benefit of the laws of the land, if they were enforced in his case, rather oppressive to his neck, says the Boston *Advertiser*.

Pro-Slavery Gen. Halleck, whose prominent staff officers were Virginians, has been removed from command in Richmond, and Gen. Alfred H. Terry is his successor. We augur the best from the change, for we knew of Gen. Terry as an anti-slavery colonel in days and places where it cost something to be anti-slavery.

Daniel R. Goodloe, originally from North Carolina, and now associate editor of Forney's *Chronicle*, has been appointed Marshal of the district of Columbia, in place of the infamous Ward Lamon.

Horace G. Maynard of Tennessee, who was an applicant for the Marshalship, prefers to be a candidate for the vacancy on the bench of the Supreme Court caused by the death of Judge Catron.

The President has appointed Judge Sharkey Provisional Governor of Mississippi. Judge Sharkey has been a sort of a Union man during the rebellion, it is said, and the appointment will be satisfactory to the (white) Union element in that State—what there is of it.

Among the Virginians indicted for treason by the Grand Jury of the United States Circuit Court at Norfolk, last Wednesday, are Generals Robert E. Lee, Breckinridge, Early, Kemper, and Henry A. Wise, with Governors Letcher and Smith, Judge James Lyons, and other prominent rebels.

Judge Underwood of the U. S. District Court of Virginia has arrived in Washington with copies of the evidence upon which the Grand Jury found the indictments. He has asked the cooperation of Attorney-General Speed, and intends to prosecute the trials at the earliest possible day.

Among the traders who lately arrived at Cincinnati to purchase dry goods, was a former slave of Jeff. Davis, named Montgomery. He is 54 years old, and quite intelligent. He was Jeff. Davis's slave over twenty years, and served him as carpenter and machinist on his and his brother's plantation of 2,000 acres. The entire 2,000 acres are now cultivated in cotton by his former fellow-bondmen, who, he says, are working industriously and more effectively than under the former rule.

Gen. Sherman once took great offence at having his manners, and particularly his habit of gruffness, compared to the manners of a Pawnee Indian, and expressed his contempt for the author of the slur in a public manner. He was much chagrined shortly after to find that the correspondent who had been guilty of the offensive comparison, had heard of his contemptuous criticism, and had amended it by publicly apologizing to the whole race of Pawnees!

The (London) *Times* says of Carlyle's Friedrich, "the great soldier of the 18th century is indebted to Mr. Carlyle for the best conceivable history of his military exploits and his domestic administration." Another London paper remarks:

From Mr. John Watkin we have received three photographic studies of Mr. Thomas Carlyle, all good and characteristic. The one showing the historian leaning on his desk, is like as life.

Who will furnish America with a good picture of the great Englishman?

Bishop Colenso gave a powerful lecture, at the Maryebone Institute, in London, upon Missions in Zulu, declaring that the savages were in the habit of justifying many of their grossest cruelties (*e. g.*, stoning to death and treatment of witches), from the Bible. Sir John Bowring presided. A great many anti-Colenso tracts were distributed to us at the door by the London City Mission. The Bishop goes soon to Zulu-land.—*M. D. Conway's London Letter.*

MR. SUMNER'S EULOGY.—I read Mr. Sumner's eulogy on Mr. Lincoln, last evening. It places the subject on the pinnacle of human excellencies, and shows the author to be equal to his theme. But it is his discussion of negro suffrage that elevates the whole speech into the region of sublimity. It is not the virtues of the dead that are to save the Republic, but the enfranchisement of the living, even though their skins be black, that will give peace and prosperity to the nation.

W. G. SNETHEN.

—*Baltimore letter to Boston Com.*

LIEUTENANT GEN. GRANT, as he was in the Astor House, New York, is thus described:

"Standing square in front of the fire-place, with figure reflected in the mirror, stood a medium-sized, well-built man, with a moderately large head, brown-haired, close-clipped as to beard and moustache, keen-eyed and square-jawed, clad in a brown sack coat, with light checked trowers and patent leather pumps; in his mouth was a 'prime Havana,' on which he vigorously drew, and his right hand, conscious perhaps of the demands to be made upon it, rested lightly on the mantel."

A Christian lady in Washington sent Payne, the assassin, a pocket-handkerchief and a message that she should pray for him, and that others prayed for him. He received the present with the air and bearing seemingly of a gentleman, returning his thanks, and as to the prayers he said no one praying for him should labor alone; that he prayed for himself. This last remark was made with much emotion, his eyes filling with tears. His nature is two-fold; he is gentle, and yet as terrible as a lion. He has more endurance than falls to the lot of most men. He will go four days at a time without eating or drinking, and still be strong. He has sat in that court room thirty-two days without relief from the usual course of nature, and during all that time has not uttered a complaint as to his health. He is yet young. His face is beardless. When dressed as a gentleman, he

OUR OUTSIDE ARTICLES—It is hoped the length of some of them to-day will not prevent a careful reading. Those on Suffrage are from two of the ablest minds of this or any other country, and from their reasonings and conclusions—statesmanlike, wholly unmixed with any partisanship—there seems no ground of dissent.

Sermons at full length will not often appear in the STANDARD; they are too long for proper and profitable newspaper reading, even though proportionably broad and high. Abstracts are far preferable, and more certain to be read.

Dr. Cheever disappeared from the STANDARD, three or four years ago; but meantime, the country has shaken at his thunders, from the Church of the Puritans to Washington, and across the valley of the Mississippi. His Fast Day Sermon on our last page, will stir the blood and spirits of whoever shall read it. Its argument is irresistible. For its theology, he alone is responsible. His appeals to the conscience and the soul, belong alike to the whole empire of conscience and soul.

TURKISH BATHS.—At 13 Laight st. has been opened a new fountain of cleanliness and healing. So much is true at least. But visitors will not realize all the enjoyments, or immediate effects of the Turkish Bath, so vanishingly portrayed by oriental travellers. Still, to those who can afford it, this approximation will prove doubtless a solid benefit, and may save large bills of the doctor's and druggists. For a cleanly, healthy skin, is among the best preventives of every form of disease.

is fine looking. But who he is, and where he came from is the great mystery.

Two fine monuments have, within a few weeks, been erected over the graves of two of Connecticut's greatest heroes—Admiral Foote and Maj.-Gen. Sedgwick.

That of Gen. Sedgwick was erected last week over his grave in the little cemetery in Cornwall Hollow, but a short distance from his beautiful residence. It consists of an obelisk surmounting a base, both together rising to a height of sixteen feet, and made of the white granite from Rhode Island. The whole design of the monument is a new one, and is very simple and plain, yet very beautiful. The following is the inscription it bears:

MAJ.-GEN. SEDGWICK,
Born in
Cornwall Hollow,
Sept. 13, 1813,
Killed near Spottsylvania, Va.,
May 9, 1864.

Both of these monuments which mark the resting-place of these two great heroes of the war are quite unpretending, even less so than those of some civilians whose lives have been unmarked by great events.

An agent of the Treasury Department of Charleston writes that when Mr. Chase had an interview with the Mayor and the leading citizens of Charleston, he told them that the government will purchase all the cotton furnished at 75 per cent. of the market price in New York; that it will not recognize the State or municipal authorities of South Carolina under rebellion; that the President is desirous of having the elective franchise extended to the blacks, but will not claim that a State withholding it shall be denied privileges in the Union. He held that true wisdom demanded suffrage for the negro. The citizens maintained that as the blacks outnumbered the whites, they would elect negro Governors, Mayors, and so on. Mr. Chase replied by citing the remark of Tacitus, that when the plebeians have power they always elect patricians to represent them, and argued that in a democratic country, the ballot-box should be open to all. This does not sound like an unauthorized exposition.

The Springfield *Republican* has made up a slate for the coming political campaign in Massachusetts. It stands thus: For Governor, Mr. Bullock; for Lieut. Governor, Mr. Moses Kimball; for Secretary of State, Mr. Wm. S. Robinson; for Treasurer, Mr. William Hyde, of Ware. The temperance men it is rumored, will get up a ticket of their own. The *Republican* says: "That Massachusetts has reached and retained so high a place and influence with her sister States in this great struggle, while at the same time none of her domestic interests have suffered from neglect, is due in the greatest degree to Gov. Andrew. We doubt if there is another man in the State that could have filled the Executive chair with such honor to himself and to us during these eventful years. Future generations will justly regard Gov. Andrew's administration as the most important in the history of the State up to this time, and it is not likely that any in the future will compare with it either in the need for a wise head and a great heart, or in the opportunity for distinction. But the war is over; Gov. Andrew's particular work is done, and he gladly retires to private life, not to remain there long, we trust, however, but soon to be called to other and higher stations, where are other duties to be performed and fresh laurels to be won."

Very good; but why then did the *Republican* always oppose Gov. Andrew, and strive last year to defeat his nomination?

The following is a translation of a letter which Garibaldi has addressed to the editor of the London *Public Opinion* on the relations between England and America:

SIR: I always considered from the beginning that the American question was one which concerned all humanity, and the whole world, and I was grieved to see that a part of the English public were opposed to the restoration of union in the great republic, which arose, it is well known, from causes of rancor which pre-existed between England and America; but it was a sad thing that the good sense of the people who first established the principle of the emancipation of the slave did not manifest itself in applause to the North Americans, who showed themselves to be the instruments of Providence in carrying out that sublime idea.

May those lords of the ocean agree, then, for the good of oppressed humanity! Sons of the same mother, may they see that their noble race is now-a-days the bulwark of the rights of nations, and that Despotism foments dissension between them because it fears them, and because it knows that if they were on good terms it would be impossible for it to execute its designs, which are fatal to liberty everywhere!

Yours, etc.,
G. GARIBALDI.

Caprei, May, 1865.

John Stuart Mill in his recently published "Examination of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy" has the following vigorous protest against Mr. Mansel's theory of a Supreme Being:

"If, instead of the 'glad tidings' that there exists a Being in whom all the excellences which the highest human mind can conceive exist in a degree inconceivable to us, I am informed that the world is ruled by a Being whose attributes are infinite, but what they are we cannot learn, nor what are the principles of his government, except that 'the highest human morality we are capable of conceiving' does not sanction them—convince me of it, and I will bear my fate as I may. But when I am told that I must believe this, and at the same time call this Being by the names which express and affirm the highest human morality, I say in plain terms that I will not. Whatever power such a being may have over me, there is one thing he shall not do; he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no Being good who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go!"

The prisoners, now on trial at Washington before the Military Court, says the Washington *Star*, are properly cared for and fed, an attendant being constantly on duty at each cell. In the case of Mrs. Surratt the prison diet has been varied somewhat, to the extent of allowing her toast, etc., when she has been ill. She spends most of her time in reading a prayer-book. Harold's mood is mercurial, sometimes exuberantly buoyant and sometimes as much depressed. Mudd pays considerable attention to his personal appearance, and is particular as to cleanliness of body. Like Mrs. Surratt he occupies much of his time in reading religious books. Atzerodt is stolid and uncommunicative for the most part. O'Laughlin conducts himself quietly; seems to feel his situation the most deeply of any of the prisoners, and walks his cell much of the time. Payne displays the same cool audacity invariably, whether in his cell or in the court-room, and exhibits not unfrequently that devil-may-care, reckless spirit of good humor that springs from high physical condition. Arnold appears in his cell as in the court-room, quiet and pleasant, and gives his attendants little trouble. Spangler, despite his lugubrious face, is said to be uniformly light-hearted and exceedingly talkative. His appetite is superb, and when the ordinary ample prison allowance is given him and he is asked if that is enough, he signifies that he can manage a little more. He has already learned to distinguish the voices of the different guards, and calls to them as they pass, seeming inclined for conversation to break the loneliness of his confinement.

THE TREATMENT, CONDITION, AND PROSPECTS OF THE COLORED RACE.

We collect from a large number of exchanges the following testimony as to the general condition of affairs in different Southern States. It exhibits the relations of the government to the negro, as well the temper of the Southern people toward the emancipated slaves, and the destitution, disorganization, and hopelessness that follow upon the sullen acquiescence of the whites in the new order of things. Acquiescence, indeed, is too strong a term, for the anger of the slaveholders against the abolition of slavery they have proved powerless to resist, vents itself in acts of appalling cruelty to the negroes still in their power, as well as in neglect of the obvious means to secure their own prosperity in the future.

We group these evidences by States, beginning with Virginia and its capital. The following correspondence of the *Tribune* will tell its own story:

AN APPEAL FROM THE RICHMOND NEGROES FOR PROTECTION.

To the Editor of the N. Y. Tribune.

SIR: In presuming to address you as perfect strangers, we trust the importance of the subject will plead our excuse. We are all colored men, free born in the State of Virginia, and have resided there ever since our birth. Many of us have large families to support, and have done it honestly by our own industry, both before and through the four years of the rebellion with all its troubles, and can give any references that can be required of honest men, of what class soever. We further claim to know no superior save in education. Most of us are men that own real estate, and have ever paid our taxes to the government, and are not only willing to pay taxes, but are willing to lay down our lives to protect the beloved government that has brought liberty to our brethren in the South.

We are compelled to think, from every day's observation that this city needs a decent government. After all that has been done for the freedom of the colored people, there is here a daily mounted patrol, with their sabres drawn, whose business is the hunting of the colored people, and we truthfully say that our present treatment is worse than ever we suffered before. We are required to get some white persons to give us passes to attend to our daily occupations, without which we are marched off to the Old Rebel Hospital, now called the negro bull pen. To more effectually accomplish this disgraceful work upon the poor, inoffensive people, Gov. Pierpoint has reinstated the former Mayor of this city, and with him all his former "nigger-hunters" and whippers, and to-day they are going into people's houses and taking them out and confining them in the City Jail until nearly night, when they are marched off by the mounted guard to the bull pen. In this gang to-day they had about 75 or 80. We saw women looking for their husbands, children for parents, but to no purpose—they were in the bull pen. These are statements for the truth of which we, the undersigned, are responsible, and we wish them known everywhere.

We have tried to have these things published here, but the papers refuse to publish anything like this for negroes, for they rejoice to see us so treated. We are frequently pointed at by the rebels, with this remark: "That's Yankee freedom—march on to the bull pen, then to the corn field"; for the government authorities here have appointed agents to hire out all of us thus taken to work on farms. All that is needed to restore slavery in full is the auction-block as it used to be.

Your humble servants,

N. H. ANDERSON,	MADISON CARTER,
RICHARD CARTER,	SPENCER SMITHEN,
ROBERT W. JOHNSON,	and many others.

Richmond, Va., June 7, 1865.

The special Richmond correspondent of the same paper confirms the statement of the foregoing.

Notwithstanding the fair and frequent promises of loyalty made by Mayor Mayo, his first acts have been to confirm the reappointment on the police of the very men who have been the scourge and terror of what few Union men were here during the rebellion, and to the negro the brutal flogger in the cage.

Those who have suffered in Libby, Castle Thunder, Belle Isle, and other pest-holes of the past, will recognize the names of officers Adams, Chocolate, Scales, Bibbs, Granger, Morris, Kelly, Perrine, Griffin, Jenkins, Moye, Hall, and Wicks. They are among those now affording life and protection to property here. Over 800 colored men have been arrested to-day for no purpose other than that of oppression, and the common remark among the rebels is, "Did I not tell you the North would oppress the negro worse than ever the South did?" Even colored soldiers have been halted, asked for passes, and received no very complimentary rebuffs for serving the cause of the Union.

The colored man referred to as being struck in the presence of Chaplain Stickney, was a Mr. Ferguson, barber on Franklin st., near Fourteenth st. Lieut.-Col. C. Warren, Provost Marshal Fourth District, is the officer who refused to punish the offender. With reference to the colored man in the coffin, I would state that he was assaulted while passing down Main st., by two drunken soldiers, and in defence drew a knife, cutting one of them on the arm, but not, however, so as to cause more than a scratch. He was arrested, taken before Lieut.-Col. Kreutzer, Second District, corner of Main and Twenty-fifth sts., and although the case has not as yet been reported to Gen. Patrick, the Colonel has taken upon himself to order the mode of confinement referred to, i. e., standing the man in a coffin with his head barely exposed, on which some cruel fiends had daubed molasses to attract the flies. The man has been leaning at an angle of 25 degrees against the side of the house, in full view of passers-by on Main st.

The matter will be laid before the government within the week by eminent gentlemen who leave here for Washington to-morrow morning. These abuses have been growing worse and worse, until this last act of restoring Mayor Mayo to power, which seems to have let loose all evil passions. Had the gentleman who wrote you from here, under date of June 2, headed "Virginia, How is it?" been present at the Convention of the Baptist Association, he would have certainly concluded disloyalty in this vicinity could not have had too high a coloring, nor suffered from "misrepresentation."

Application will be made in the morning by the Superintendent of the Colored School for a free pass of the children to and fro, and to secure to his evening school the usual attendance of males. A. M. D.

Writing next day he says:

The close scrutiny and fierce supervision over the negro and his pass have been continued to-day, though with less trouble to the police and guard, the colored people only appearing on the street in the discharge of some immediate duties. The over-zealousness of the police has been represented to Gen. Patrick, who stated that, in the carrying out of an exacting order, abuses for a time would exist, but he was quite certain they would soon right themselves, *and he recommended the parties complaining to attend to their own business and aid the civil authorities in the prosecution of their work.*

While standing upon the corner of Franklin and Twelfth sts., observing the operations of examining passes, Officer Cowen remarked to a colored lad who, claiming himself free, had, however, a pass from his employer—a free colored man doing business in the lower market—that "Richmond was worse to-day than when the Confederates had it." The officer replied, "Well, didn't I tell you so, you d—d fool, the Yankees would make you ten times worse."

Of the general condition of the State this is the testimony of Mr. Teackle Elliott, a Virginian, defeated in the recent election.

There never has been a period within the last thirty years when there was more sensitiveness, more excitability about the Negro question, than there is at this particular juncture in our affairs; and my circular, and my connection with "Negro Affairs" since its establishment on this shore by Maj.-Gen. Butler—that inflexibly good and great man—as Assistant Superintendent, with the addition of a negro school at my house, were my *political* damnation, aye, social, beyond the *hope even* of resurrection.

The old Secession party here has undergone a great transformation. They have changed their clothing and their colors. They are Secessionists no longer—they are only "*Conservatives*"! Conservative of what? Now that they cannot hold the negro by force of arms, they have all combined upon men who are straight-out upon the Negro question, and will elevate them to all the offices, and will, to all intents and purposes, make him as great a bone of contention, both in State and National legislation, as he ever was, unless the General government or Congress shall interfere. They will not touch a man who does not go in for his entire disqualification for everything; he must be exterminated, and Dutch and Irish invited to take their places, whom they can make good Southern citizens.

This, sir, is the present policy of the South, and all good Union men, National men and negroes, must either be ground into the dust or come into your parts. They know that the old Secession party is dead, and they are trying to build up a new party out of former Union men—those who were Union men until President Lincoln's Emancipation proclamation—to call itself the *Conservative party.* Who, Mr. Editor, is the Conservative, they or I? But I hereby ring the tocsin, and give the 70 odd National Republican men who voted for me warning that this is our government's old enemy in a new guise, and that their only purpose is, like that of Jefferson Davis, to create as much dissatisfaction at, and opposition to, our government as possible, and to *get the spoils of office.*

The difference between that party and the National Union party is that they intend to quarrel with the rest of the nation on the slavery question, and we do not.

With the greatest respect, I subscribe myself your obedient servant, TEACKLE ELLIOTT.

Drummondtown, Va., June 5, 1865.

NORTH CAROLINA.

What prospect the negro has of being granted the elective franchise in North Carolina may be judged from the tone of this article from the Raleigh *Progress:*

We have not hesitated to declare our gratification at the freedom of the negro, and to express the opinion that the people of North Carolina would ratify at the ballot-box the proclamation of the President, and the order of Gen. Schofield issued in pursuance thereof. We are glad that the negro is free on his own account, and we are glad on our own account. We believe, as did our great and good Gaston, that African slavery is a curse to any people—that it destroys the energies of the non-slaveholding whites, keeps them in ignorance and retards the development of the resources of the country—and that the sooner a people who have it get clear of it the better. The negro is free in North Carolina, and if we had it in our power to enslave him again we would not do it. Whether his freedom will better his condition or not is a problem which he has got to work out; but so sure are we that the white masses are to be elevated—that a new field of moral and intellectual culture, as well as material prosperity, is to be opened up to them by the inauguration of free labor, that we would not restore him to his former *status* if in our power to do so. * * * *At present we are sure that there is not a single man in the State in favor of allowing him to vote;* and any attempt on the part of the General government to force it upon us would seriously interfere with that fraternal, sympathetic affection so necessary between the people of the different States and sections to secure a union of hearts as well as a union of States.

THE LABOR QUESTION IN NORTH CAROLINA.

From the Raleigh Standard, June 1.

The sudden, immediate abolition of slavery has transformed into wastes plantations that were once gardens. Bewildered by the novelty of freedom, able-bodied slaves have ceased to work. Leaving the weak and the infirm, the women and children, as a burden to those who formerly owned them, the strong and stalworth have congregated in the towns, their definition of freedom embracing but two ideas—the one, license not to work; the other, gratuitous rations from the United States commissariat. Orders have been issued prohibiting the gathering of negroes in the vicinage of towns, and also fixing a time at which the gratuitous distribution of rations shall cease; but these have had no effect as yet in lessening the evil, or disabusing the minds of the negroes so recently emancipated of the fallacy to which they cling so tenaciously—that the power which has freed them will continue to support them in utter indolence. This state of things, so far as the negroes are concerned, must necessarily result in lawlessness and indiscriminate thieving on their part, or else they must suffer. Their former owners would willingly, in a majority of instances, secure their return to labor by offers of fair remuneration; but from what we can learn, efforts to this end meet with but little success. Surely in the present condition of affairs—stinted themselves and with prospects meagre indeed—it were hard to require our farmers to maintain those negroes who are now a burthen, while deprived altogether of the labor of those who are able to work. For the present we must all do the best we can, avail ourselves of the labor at hand, put forth sturdier individual effort, and confidently look forward to a speedy restoration of civil authority for an amelioration of our affairs. Doubtless one of the earliest benefits which will accrue to our people from the thorough restoration of the State to the Union will be a speedy and ultimate definition of the *status* of the freedmen of North Carolina. When this has been done the legitimate reaction of supply and demand will insure labor to capital and remuneration to labor. Until then there can be no system, no stability, and consequently but little comfort. In the meantime let us be patient and do the best we can for ourselves and each other.

GEORGIA.

FATE OF THE EMANCIPATED BLACKS—SUFFERING IN EVERY CONCEIVABLE SHAPE—A SAD STORY.

From the Macon Telegraph, May 30.

The reports of the deaths and accidents to negroes, given in our local column this morning, convey but a limited idea of the sufferings which the unfortunates who flocked to Macon have undergone since the army reached the city. All this time they have been suffering terribly in every conceivable shape, and we have information that many hundreds have died from starvation and disease—the aggregate reaching a total that seems almost incredible. This state of things has been unavoidable thus far, and we can see no prospect of a change for the better. The army commissary, owing of Gen. Wilson was engaged, was not, and has not to the nature of the service upon which the command been, able to supply the thousands who have abandoned their homes to follow the army. All was done to mitigate suffering that could be done under the circumstances, but the ability has fallen far short of the requirements. Some thousands of men able to work have been removed to sections where they could be more easily supplied, and at the same time prove of some service in repairing our railroads. A few have enlisted, and are cared for, while many others have been driven from the city, as a matter of necessity, arising partially from a scarcity of provisions, but generally because employment cannot be obtained by which the means can be earned to purchase supplies. *Almost every employer prefers white labor, and as there are plenty of whites, seeking employment, the negro stands but a poor chance. They are thus forced to lead a life of vagabondism, if they remain among us, and the results are starvation, disease and death, making sad havoc among the multitude who through every hiding-place in and about the city.* The only remedy for this state of things rests with the negroes themselves, at present. Their labor is not needed in the cities of the South, but in the agricultural districts. They can make nothing in the cities to live upon, and they will not be allowed to steal. Their only chance is to obtain employment and a living in the country. They are as free there as in town, but their labor is needed more, and whenever there is a necessity for the employment of labor it will receive remuneration of some kind. In the rural districts they will not be compelled to starve, at least; while, here in Macon, and in the other cities, no other fate awaits them just now. Our record of the past few days develops something that is of daily occurrence here, out the half is not told. We might refer to many individual cases of suffering that have fallen under our notice, but it is unnecessary. Enough has been told to warn the misguided ones, and if the lessons of experience are lost upon them, reasoning will do no good, and advice would be useless. The facts are stern ones, and should admonish all.

ALABAMA.

The correspondent of the N. Y. *Times* writes from

MOBILE, Ala., Sunday, May 28, 1865.

I have just made a tour along the line of the Mobile and Great Northern Railroad to Montgomery and thence down the Alabama River to this place, stopping at various points and making very careful inquiry all along, so as to ascertain as nearly as I could the exact condition of affairs in that region of the late Confederacy. I shall not write in this letter any highly-colored sentences or indulge in any far-fetched words, but will tell you as unvarnished a story of fact as I possibly can.

The people, black and white, are starving. The whites are hardly conscious of their horrid situation. They are as mean and as proud as ever. They dress in rags and have no money to pay their passage on the cars or boats. They subsist mainly by eating refuse, which, in ordinary times, would hardly be given to the dogs.

Some procure rations from the government of the United States; others go hungry. They will not work. They say that they were not made to work and that only "niggers" should engage in toil. Thinking themselves true to this character, they allow their lands to go uncultivated. Their gardens, which by their own industry, aside from the industry of the negro, should "bud and blossom as the rose," are grown up in weeds. On the train which bore us to the capital of Alabama were a large number of women, who were going to the military authorities for rations. They were exceedingly bitter, some against the Union and others against Jeff. Davis. They could say what they pleased against the former, but regarding the latter they must keep "mum." There were Confederate soldiers on board, and when a word was said against Jeff. or the defunct Confederacy, some swaggering rebel would cry out "shut up," and with such emphasis as caused a general silence on that subject.

There were five times more Confederates than there were Union soldiers on the train. Indeed, one would suppose that the rebellion was yet in its glory from the speeches of these braggarts. Union men cannot breathe freely or rest at any ease apart from the military authorities. This is a solemn fact. Along the entire line we witnessed enough to convince us that no other remedy than bayonets will suit this country for many months to come.

I heard of starved women and children—persons who had actually starved to death. I have no doubt that such is the case. The appearance of the country fully justifies the belief that the greatest distress prevails among the people. And yet it is strange how terribly bitter the returned rebels are. Even on their way to the government Commissary to procure rations they abuse the government and the people of the United States. Terms as unmerciful as any we have heard for months were used by this mad people.

The colored people will be murdered and driven to untimely graves if the government does not keep provost guards at the county seats and the cities. So great is the madness of the old slaveholders over defeat and subjugation, that, on their return home, they amuse themselves by cutting off the ears, noses or lips of their former slaves. This is not a dream. It is a terrible fact, and I am sure that when it is known to our loyal people there will arise such a feeling of indignation as will surely reach the very heavens. At Montgomery five men came in one day with ears cut off and in an almost nude state. Others came in with throats cut, while others appeared terribly marked over their bodies with blows from sticks and stones. The perpetrators are "chivalrous" men, high-minded, well-bred gentlemen, no doubt. Thank heaven, the dominion of such gentry is at an end. Gen. A. J. Smith and Col. Geddes are vigilant in their search for the cruel monsters. But these cases are only samples. All officers and soldiers of the army here are filled with the deepest horror over these awful deeds, and are resolved that they must end.

When the train stops on the railroad, or when a boat stops at a landing, the delay is usually spent in tormenting poor colored persons who may be attempting to come on board. The only exceptions are known when a sufficient number of Union officers and soldiers are on board to give protection to the poor refugees.

I am of opinion, candidly, that one-twentieth of these awful deeds will never be known.

MISSISSIPPI—THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO.

From the Memphis Bulletin, May 30.

An intelligent Southern gentleman, resident in Mississippi, has furnished the following article on a topic of special interest at the present time. We commend his suggestions as especially noteworthy as emanating from a Sourthern man by birth, education and continuous residence.

There is one point, however, which is referred to in this communication to which we would call special attention, and that is the intimation that *wealthy landholders, who have lost nothing by the war but their negroes, may combine—are combining—to get the services of the negro as an employe, to the end that he may be brought in debt to them at the end of every year, and thus they may get his labor with less responsibility and compensation than when he was a slave.* This is not the first time we have heard such an intimation. We should much lament the adoption of any such scheme. The negro has rights in his present position which no fair-minded man should seek to deprive him of. Those rights are to work for a living and to enjoy the proceeds of his labor. These he must have in any condition which may be allotted him in future, and we presume the Freedmen's Bureau, of which Gen. Howard is chief, will see that these privileges are fully accorded him. We have plenty of land to till. We need the negro's labor.

In fact, the great need of the Southern States at the present time is labor. We can use profitably for both the white and black all the labor that there now is in the Southern States. When this shall cease to be the case—when the negro is no longer needed to till our fair fields—why then he may be encouraged to go over into Mexico, where his soldierly qualities may be made good use of to the driving out of the French. When that is done, as there is no prejudice against caste in that Republic, the negro may rise to high positions in the State whose peace shall have been secured by his valor, and by intermarrying with Mexican damsels a better race may be substituted for the present degenerated Mexicans, and a free republic established, which may remain as our next door neighbor until in the rapid growth of our great country the Anglo-Saxon race shall need a new theatre for the display of its tremendous energy and power, and then, as all history proves, the weaker race will have to get out of our way.

THE NEGRO—WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH HIM?

Two classes have changed their relationship to the government since the war began. One class, by taking up arms against the legally constituted authorities, became traitors, and, unless pardoned, must suffer the penalty for treason. The other class was released from bondage, and now wander about utterly stupefied by the sudden transition from slavery to freedom. All seem willing and even anxious to talk about and suggest policies to be pursued toward the late rebel, and no one fears undue excitement from the discussion of them. But as soon as the negro's case is mentioned all raise their hands in holy horror and cry out against creating excitement. Why not excite this subject? Who are we afraid of? Certainly not the vanquished rebel nor the liberated African.

At a public meeting held by the old citizens of this section not long ago the negro question was dropped like a poisonous serpent. Some knowing ones attributed their great aversion to the discussion of that question to a latent spark of disloyalty, and said that they still hoped to revive the institution of slavery in some form or other. That persons in that meeting hoped to continue the negro as a laborer for their personal interest cannot be doubted, but that a disloyal sentiment prompted the desire is not probably. A great number of the people in the Northern States seem to be actuated by the same motive, if we are to judge from their carefully-worded sentences about disposing of the negro. They imagine that their heretofore lucrative trade with the Southern States would be diminished by the idle and thriftless disposition of the African race if colonized to themselves. Manufacturers East and producers West imagine that if the negro is put to himself he will not require their assistance as heretofore in furnishing him with implements and subsistence in exchange for sugar, rice, and cotton. Therefore we find an unwillingness at the North, notwithstanding its boasted disinterestedness, to make the colored man in every respect free and equal to his white brother.

The large planters of the South were the prime movers of the secession scheme; lawyers, doctors, mechanics, merchants and every class were swayed and controlled by them; and now that their favorite project of establishing a negro aristocracy has failed, we find them with full amnesty in their pockets and the ever ready declaration on their lips that they "always was opposed to secession." In full possession of all their property, save the woolly-headed species, with hundreds of acres under fence and comfortable cabins, nothing remains but to exercise a little shrewd management to have the negro left unprovided for among us, and they have him as much a slave as ever. A system of peonage would be established far more disgusting and loathsome than that practiced in Mexico, and the prosperity of the United States would be retarded as it has ever been by the presence of the negro.

Thus identified in reaping immediate profits, it is not strange that the rich man of the South and the rich man of the North are disposed to be silent in the presence of the negro question. They unite readily in always keeping it conspicuous that "the white man cannot withstand the rays of vertical sun," and "miasma from Southern swamps is poison to white men, while it fattens a negro," though they think it dangerous to discuss the question at this time. But ask the veteran Union soldier, and the hard-fisted ex-rebel private, who have lived without shelter in the South for the last four years, and they will say colonize the black man to himself somewhere, and let us buy a quarter section of land apiece among white people in the South, and we will raise up a generation who will not only defy "vertical" suns and "miasmatic swamps," but will plant the Stars and Stripes upon the highest round in the ladder of a nation's fame, never to be sullied by sordid, time-serving interests nor the scheming of ambitious demagogues.

Let us discuss the question and decide upon some place to settle the negroes to themselves where they may be free and prosperous. If we have not enough territory we are able to acquire more, and it will be cheaper to purchase it at a very high price than to have another war about the negro, which is inevitable if we mix him up with the white people. Rather than see territory at our door prostituted to the base purposes of establishing an empire, we would choose to have a nice little colored republic for a neighbor.

EQUALITY BEFORE LAW.

To the Editor of the Standard.

IN a timely article in your last issue, headed "The Work Before Us," you cited the first and second resolutions of a series passed at the recent annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, but, in quoting them, you omitted a most important clause from the second resolution, setting forth the necessity of Congress being urged to recommend the adoption of a Constitutional Amendment "forbidding any State to make any distinctions among persons born, on her soil, of parents permanently resident there, in relation to civil rights, on account of race, color, or descent."

As editors have, per force of their positions, much to do with shaping records destined to become permanent history, and your exception, by being referred to as if the whole of the second resolution instead of a portion thereof, may cause the action of the Society and its attitude on this vital question to be misunderstood, I would respectfully suggest the propriety of your printing the omitted clause along with the residue of said resolution. In this shape it would read thus:

2. Resolved, That of all the work committed to our hands, we will count none more important than the education of the nation before the next session of Congress, into the idea that color or race is no test of fitness for citizenship; and that no democracy is genuine, or can stand the ordeals of the nineteenth century, which is not based on justice and the cheerful consent of all the governed—and we will further urge upon Congress to recommend the adoption of a Constitutional Amendment forbidding any State to make any distinctions among persons born on her soil, of parents permanently resident there, in relation to civil rights, on account of race, color, or descent."

It may be proper to explain that the omitted clause was adopted at my suggestion, as an addition to the second resolution as originally proposed by Mr. Pillsbury, the mover having promptly accepted it as an amendment, though the official report of the proceedings represented me as making a motion to that effect. The truth of history is, that I caught the idea from a speech of Mr. Phillips, and appropriated his exact words, and I was glad that he repeated them, in his great speech at the Cooper Institute, on the 12th of May, with increased emphasis, seeing that he had, meanwhile, become the President of the Society, and therefore "spoke as one having authority."

I hope to live to see the righteous and indispensable curtailment of what is popularly accepted as "States Rights," proposed by the foregoing resolution, incorporated in the fundamental law of the Nation. Without it, I fear, the anti-slavery clause will have been confirmed in vain, so far as equality before the law is concerned in even certain "free States," to say nothing of "slave States," unless more help, either of the loyal or the moral kind, is furnished by the Federal authorities than they seem to consider legitimate or warranted at the present juncture of affairs.

J. E. SNODGRASS.

WILMINGTON, 6 mo. 3d, 1865.

To the Editor of the Standard:

I WISH to acknowledge through the STANDARD the receipt of the following sums for Capt. Bayliss and wife. The money has been received in consequence of an appeal by J. Miller McKim published in the STANDARD. By so-doing thee will much oblige thy friend,

THOS. GARRETT.

Wm. E. Gildersleeve	5 00	From Iowa	2 00
Julia E. Smith	10 00	Dr. Noble	5 00
J. W. Westbroug, gold	1 00	Huron Jenkins	5 00
Cash	1 00	Lydia White	1.00
"	15 00	Robert Williams	1 00
J. Pusey	7 00	S. Howland	15 00
Gerrit Smith	10 00	From a Friend	20 00
Cash	1 00		$106 00
A. Brooke	5 00		
Cash	2 00		

Summary.

A SPECIMEN OF SOUTHERN THEOLOGY.—The Richmond negroes say that Bishop Moore, in addressing them on one occasion, said: "Now, ye servants, keep your kitchens clean, make good, light bread, season and cook your meats to the taste of your masters, and perhaps by and by you may be admitted to the kitchen of heaven."

We must not fail to mention the fact that many of the ladies on farms in the eastern portion of our State, from which all the negroes have gone during the war, and where other labor could not be procured, have engaged with alacrity in the lighter duties of agriculture. We have heard of three young ladies, of one of the most refined and formerly wealthiest families in Hanover, who have planted on their own father's farm a larger crop of corn than has been grown there during the war. Every negro has left them except a few helpless women and children.—*Richmond Republic.*

RECONSTRUCTION.—Slowly but surely the work of reconstruction is going on. Fighting is at an end, and people are turning their thoughts to peaceful pursuits, returning to their homes, cultivating their crops, rebuilding their fences, and setting about earning a subsistence for their families. The soldiers are fast finding their way back to homes long deserted. A correspondent of the New York *Tribune* mentions seeing a captain in Lee's late army at his home plowing up a small garden lot with his war horse. He had lost all his slaves and most of his personal property. But he had a wife and children whom he was bound to support, and had gone to work like a man.—*Richmond Times, May* 31.

ON Thursday evening, June 1, a prayer-meeting was held in the lecture-room of Plymouth Church, in the course of which Mr. Beecher stated his views upon the subject of Jeff. Davis and his fate. He reiterated his opposition to the execution of Davis or any other Southern leader on the mere ground of treason—not because Davis did not well deserve it, but because such a punishment would not have any good effect, and would probably result in great harm. He said the charges against Democracies were that they were lawless, fickle and cruel. The two first charges had been abundantly refuted by the war. He earnestly desired that the third might be refuted by the peace which followed the war.

LOYAL NEGRO SOLDIERS AS GOOD AS DISLOYAL WHITE MEN.—In the Tennessee Convention, the qualifications for voting being under consideration, in a form which leaves the right of negroes to vote to be decided hereafter by the Legislature, Col. Butler moved a proviso forever excluding the descendants of negroes to the third generation, even though one ancestor in each generation should be white. Mr. Hood immediately proposed this substitute:

"Provided, however, that so soon as those who have been open and avowed rebels shall have been permitted to vote, then all colored United States soldiers, citizens of Tennessee, who shall have served out their terms of service or been honorably discharged, shall be allowed to vote; a loyal negro who fights for his country being at least equal to a disloyal white man who fights against his country."—*Christian Banner.*

LETTER FROM THE POET WHITTIER TO DR. ROSS, TORONTO.—*Amesbury, Mass., May* 22, 1865.—MY DEAR SIR: The tears which both nations are shedding over the graves of our beloved President, are washing out all bitter memories of misconception and estrangement betwen them. So good comes of the evil.

O Englishmen! in hope and creed,
In blood and tongue our brothers;
We too are heirs of Runnymede,
And Shakespeare's fame and Cromwell's deed
Are not alone our mother's.

Thicker than water in one rill,
Through centuries of story,
Our Saxon blood has flowed, and still
We share with you the good and ill,
The shadow and the glory.

Thine truly,
JOHN G. WHITTIER.

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Contributions to the Treasury of the American Anti-Slavery Society, at the New England Convention, May 31, 1861.

J. N. Buffum	$2 00	A. P. Ela	5 00
Lizzie C. Hutchinson	1 00	Perley King	1 00
Mary H. A. Cabot	1 00	A Friend	50
Louisa Hobart	1 00	S. May, Jr., expenses	1 00
L. J. Clark	50	" "	1 00
E. Mendum	2 00	A. J. Ballou	1 00
Nancy B. Hill	1 00	J. K. Ballou	1 00
M. B. Brown	1 00	Jehiel Claflin	1 00
Mary Willey	50	B. F. Hutchinson	1 00
E. P. W. Packard	1 00	F. H. Drake	1 00
C. A. F. Stebbins	50	Annie Morrill	1 00
Geo. L. French	1 00	Samuel Barrett	1 00
A. Friend	2 00	Samuel J. May	2 00
P. Putnam	1 00	T. Southwick	1 00
Cash	5 00	A Friend	1 00
A. B. Peck	1 00	E. & E. H. Richards	2 00
Asa B. Hutchinson	1 00	R. Plumer	1 00
J. E. Elbert	1 00	Mary Plumer	1 00
Name not legible	1 00	S. A. Fayerweather	1 00
Mrs. H. Jenkins	1 00	Mary L. Richmond	50
A. B. Morey,	50	Sarah Ford	25
S. S. Russell	5 00	S. Boynton	1 00
Cash	2 00	J. H. Carter	1 00
Maria S. Page	1 00	A. Hale	1 00
Eliab Wight	1 00	Robert R. Crosby	2 00
Mrs. J. G. Dodge	3 00	R. H. McLauthlin	1 00
M. C. W.	1 00	E. G. Lucas	1 00
James Mott	5 00	Nathaniel Allen	1 00
E. B. Perkins	1 00	Cash	50
Martha Barrett	1 00	C. W. Moulton	1 00
Gertrude Barrett	50	Cash	25
Mary N. Paine	2 00	J. Wright	25
Bourne Spooner	2 00	Cash	25
Sarah H. Cowing	1 00	A. M. Chase	1 00
Cash	50	M. B. Goodrich	1 00
"	1 00	J. L. Howard	1 00
"	25	Anne L. Gwynne	5 00
"	50	H. O. Thurnam	1 00
"	75	Mrs. Eddy	1 00
Caroline R. Putnam	5 00	Phebe A. Cartland	1 00
A. S. Sisson	1 00	Mary S. Livermore	3 00
A. Stanwood	1 00	John T. Page	1 00
H. R. Stanwood	1 00	Joshua Coolidge	1 00
Caroline S. Perry	1 00	J. Butterfield	3 00
Elijah Hobart	2 00	Thomas P. Knox	50
A Friend	1 00	A. M. F.	25
"	50	A. J. Deeft	25
— Foster	2 00	A Friend	25
Illegible	1 00	"	10
— Nichols	2 00	"	25
John Mitchell	1 00	"	15
A Friend	1 00	"	25
Benj. Breed	1 00	"	1 00
Thomas Hardy	1 00	"	1 00
A Friend	1 00	M. C. W.	2 00
B. A. Newhall	50	L. Mott	2 00
Wm. Lowe	1 00	J. P. Mendurn	2 00
Mrs. W. B. Gove	1 00	Wm. Jenkins	1 00
A Friend	2 00	J. Church	50
J. T. Sargent	2 00	C. C. Burr	1 00
Mrs. J. T. Sargent	1 00	R. W. Henshaw	5 00
J. H. Stephenson	2 00	A Friend	28
Cash	50	R. Plumer	1 00
"	1 00	R. K. Gould	50
J. Merrill	1 00	Cash	25
M. Flint	50	Spaulding Boynton	50
Cash	35	Elijah Hobart	1 00
"	50	Nathaniel Whiting	2 00
E. B. Perkins	50	D. B. & A. B. Morey	1 00
Universal Suffrage	50	Joel Smith	1 00
D. S. Whitney	25	Maria P. Clapp	1 00

Miscellaneous Department.

THE SPILT PEARLS.

The story translated by THOLUCK from the "Bustan" of SAADI.

His courtiers of the Caliph crave—
"O, say how this may be,
That of thy slaves, this Ethiop slave
Is best beloved by thee?

"For he is hideous as the night!
Yet when has ever chose
A nightingale for its delight,
A hueless, scentless rose?"

The Caliph then—"No features fair
Nor comely mien are his:
Love is the beauty he doth wear,
And love his glory is.

"Once when a camel of my train
There fell in narrow street,
From broken casket rolled amain,
Rich Pearls before my feet.

"I, nodding to my slaves, that I
Would freely give them these,
At once upon the spoil they fly,
The costly boon to seize.

"One only at my side remained—
Beside this Ethiop none:
He, moveless as the steed he reined,
Behind me sat alone.

"What will *thy* gain, good fellow, be
Thus lingering at my side?"—
—"My King, that I shall faithfully
Have guarded thee," he cried.

"'True servant's title he may wear,
He only, who has not,
For his lord's gifts, how rich soe'er,
His lord Himself forgot!'"

—So thou alone dost walk before
Thy God with perfect aim,
From Him desiring nothing more
Beside Himself to claim.

For if thou not to Him aspire,
But to His gifts alone,
Not love, but covetous desire,
Has brought thee to His throne.

While such thy prayer, it climbs above
In vain—the golden key
Of God's rich treasure-house of love,
Thine own will never be.

TRENCH.

Continued Oppression, and not God's Judgments, the Reason for Fasting.

A DISCOURSE,

BY REV. DR. CHEEVER,

Delivered in the Church of the Puritans, on the morning of the National Fast, Thursday, June 1st, 1865.

Is not this the fast that I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke?—*Isaiah* 58: 6.

THE singularly close application of this text to our country, along with the context to the end of the chapter, was developed in the introduction of the discourse. Some of the reasons that should constrain us to fast as in sackcloth and ashes, in view of our great sins in contrast with God's mercy in our salvation, were enumerated. For a right sense of our obligations to God, and of the greatness of his mercy, a candid review and acknowledgment of our own sins is necessary. Have we obeyed God? Will we do it? Have we delivered the oppressed? Will we do it? If not, what must be the consequence?

What is our true place in history? How have we carried ourselves in the most stupendous conflict of modern times? What character have we developed? What have been the interpositions of God in our behalf? Is our national salvation in any measure owing to our own virtue, or has God wrought it for us in spite of our own wickedness? What are our opportunities and duties in relation to the colored race? What will be the result to ourselves, if we do not fulfil them? Are we on the verge of a new national crime against that race? If so, how may we hope to avert and prevent it?

We have had our Pharaohs, who, at the outset, refused to let the children of Israel go. We have had our plagues, under the compulsion of which we were compelled to let them go. The great difference between us and the Egyptians is, that God has been thus far much more merciful to us than he was to them. Instead of bringing the Red Sea upon ourselves, God has brought it upon our enemies. Instead of making the deliverance of the oppressed, because we had refused to take that deliverance into our own hands, the occasion of our own ruin, God himself has accomplished it, and made it a part of our salvation. His forbearance and mercy to us are unexampled in the history of nations.

THE RACE OF NECESSITY.

There is no possibility of looking at this thing justly, without looking at it in this light. It condemns ourselves, but it honors God. We have not obeyed God, except on compulsion; and yet, God saves us. The work of emancipation has been a scrub race of necessity between us and the Rebel Confederacy. It is nothing but God's mercy in spurring us up, so that we came out neck and shoulders ahead of the Rebel Congress in this matter, that has saved us. For nothing has been more remarkable in this history than the resemblance of the policy of both parties, under one and the same acknowledged rule, that of necessity, under one guide, that of expediency. When that was proclaimed as our rule, instead of immediate obedience to God, we trembled for our country. It was the only cause for trembling. There never has been any danger but that, and that has almost wrecked us.

When we said that we would not do justly by the enslaved, would not give them their liberty except as the last thing, except we were driven to it, except as an ultimate necessity for the salvation of our own union, then we trembled lest God should take us at our word, let he should say, as of old, "Because I called and ye refused, therefore I leave you to your necessity, and when that come, it shall be your ruin. The blacks shall be saved, but you, proud, base, selfish government and nation, who declared that you would not let them be saved, except as it became the necessity of your own salvation, shall be destroyed by it, when that necessity comes."

REASONS OF GOD'S FORBEARANCE.

This was the attitude in which the country was placed by its rulers; and we have reason to believe that one cause of God's forbearance towards us was this, that he saw that this refusal to obey was the work not so much of the people as of the leaders. He saw the people demanding the act of obedience to God, demanding that justice should be executed against slavery. He saw the people rejoicing when they thought that this righteous policy was begun, and ready not merely to acquiesce in it as a necessity, but to give God the praise. This was manifest, when Fremont struck the first, giant blow, but forthwith, the government, not the people, shielded slavery. It was manifest when the government avowed that it would go no farther nor faster in the way of justice than the people drove it.

Now let those justify the government that please, let those applaud the government who abide by "necessity, the tyrant's plea." I justify God and the people. I declare that God has saved the nation, not by the govermental or Presidential principle of necessity, but in spite of it. God has not saved the people by the government, but the government by the people. God has had mercy on the people, and has not suffered them to permit the government to be utterly too late in striking against slavery. The most righteous cause that ever existed on earth has indeed been shamefully debased, and the glory of it trailed in the dirt of a common conflict, but God has not imputed that iniquity for our ruin, but has saved us, notwithstanding our folly and shame.

Another reason was because the Southern Confederacy were playing the same game, kept the same card for the ultimate necessity. Between these two millstones of a Northern and a Southern necessity, God chose that slavery, not the slaves, should be ground to powder. It is this that has done it. Both the North and the South would have kept the slaves, slaves; the North for the sake of the Union, if thus the Union could have been recovered and saved; the South for the sake of its slave-empire, its slave-supremacy. It was this determination on both sides, this shuffling with the question of necessity, that protected and saved the blacks from destruction, and wrought out their deliverance. Between these rival necessities God has set the slaves free, and by *means* of these rival necessities, God has *protected* the slaves.

THE REBELS TOO LATE.

If it had not been for God's purposes of mercy to them, if it had not been that it was for them that God had arisen in this war, he would have let the perdition of this necessity, this wail of *too late*, fall on us as well as on the Soth. As it is, he has brought the perdition on them. They are the party too late. Their necessity is God's opportunity for the complete deliverance of the oppressed. Not till they also were driven to this conclusion that as an ultimate necessity they likewise would arm the slaves and give them their freedom, not till God had shut them up to this compulsion, and driven them to the borders of this act of justice, did he turn the war utterly against them, and give the signal of their overthrow. Not till he had got them into the midst of this Red Sea, did he send its billows tumbling upon them; we, meanwhile, who had deserved the same ruin, permitted to stand with the delivered slaves upon the shore, and thank God for the overthrow of our enemies.

And what an overthrow! What a signal interposition! How wonderfully God has brought it about! How wonderfully he has deferred it, until it should be wide-sweeping and complete. How wonderfully has he kept the Rebel States and Confederacy, the people and the leaders, from accepting the terms of submission which in our baseness we offered, when we were willing to have sacrificed the rights of the whole colored race to them, provided they, the rebels, our enemies, would only have returned into the Union. How wonderfully God has saved us from that eternal shame, from the completion of an act proposed by such boundless infamy, the sight of which and the knowledge that we were on the verge of it, makes us now start back in terror, acknowledging that *that* was the greatest deliverance of all this war; that salvation of God for us from plunging into such a gulf.

But still we were saved then only by the desperation of our enemies, only by their adoption of our own policy more obstinately than ourselves; their determination never to yield till in the last necessity, and then to make justice to the enslaved the last thing.

Three years ago, had we pronounced the word Emancipation, and made justice and obedience to God our policy, we should have conquered. We waited for necessity. And because God meant to set free the slaves himself by his own judgments, without our coöperation, he did not, for the sake of the slave he did not, pronounce upon us the doom, Too late! Two years ago, had they, the Confederacy, pronounced the word Emancipation, *they* would have conquered; they would have had the sympathy of the whole civilized world in their behalf, and the intervention of all Europe in their favor. God had mercy upon us, and gave us the pronouncement of that word first, and then, for them it was too late, but for us it was salvation.

SAVED BY THE COLORED RACE.

We are saved in this conflict by the instrumentality of the blacks, by the defence of their cause on the whole being on our side, by their being with us, and God with us for them. We are saved, not by our Republican form of government, for that had no power against disunion, nor by the freedom of our Constitution, for in consequence of maintaining our Constitution itself to have been an instrument of pro-slavery guarantees, even in the midst of the conflict we have had to promise that we would reconstruct that; but by the blacks being with us, and against our enemies, by our being compelled to reconstruct the Constitution and the Union *for their sake*, by the Lord God being on our side, *for them*, to do them justice. God has broken asunder the Union, and by his divine surgery has cut out this cancer of slavery that was eating at our vitals; and he has not used chloroform for this operation, has not made us insensible to the pain or the method of it, but has made us see all the while what he was doing.

And now he will restore the Union in health and prosperity, if we wait on him, and do justly. He broke the Union asunder because it was a prison, with four million slaves walled up in its dungeons, and their cry went up to heaven. If the Union is necessary to his purposes, he will build it again, but never will he let it stand with any of that oppressed race built into it as its chattels, never but as a just Union. And never can it be at all rebuilded without him. And yet the proposition now is, to leave them still in a condition which our fathers called slavery until we can amend our Constitution. God undertook this war for the negroes, because we had declared that we could not set them free by the Constitution, and that rather than have the Union broken up we would still keep them slaves. If we now undertake to make peace for ourselves, leaving the negroes in a condition which our fathers said rather than endure for themselves they would lay down their lives, and went to war accordingly, and leaving the right to oppress them as a race not only not denied but admitted as a right of sovereignty, then the same reasons of State and justice which made the Judge of all the earth break up our Union, will cause Him to forbid that we should renew it. We cannot renew it, but by His favor, His wisdom, His guidance, His power. We can no more bring these dissevered empires into one, by any human policy, that embraces a compromise with slavery, or leaves for future adjustment the cause, the crime, that drove North and South asunder, than we could have re-united the kingdoms of Rehoboam and Jeroboam on a compromise with idolatry. These too parts of our broken Union have stood bristling with defiance at each other, as the jagged mountain walls of the Via Mala in Switzerland with the torrent thundering through. You can see the outjutting crags on one side, and the corresponding cavities where they split on the other, and where they would unite again if you could bring them back.

But we can no more do that by North and South without God's own power, by human wisdom or enactment, than we could stand on the suspension bridge over Niagara and at a word compel the Canada side and the United States side to close up and bury the torrent. The divulsion by Almighty Power was the first thing and the only thing that put a stop to our slave-empire. We didnot do it, but disclaimed the work, and even denied the institution, as being a crime, even in our thoughts. The torrent has been thundering down ever since, carrying, on the surge of its cataract, fragment after fragment of the institution of tyranny that we sought to save. Our slavery in the District of Columbia went by the board. We still clung to the Fugitive Slave law; but God threw that also over the Falls. Not one of all the measures against slavery did our Chief Magistrate propose or originate, but against every one in succession set his conservative shoulders, till indispensable necessity should drive him on. And if God had stopped the war within the first year of its breaking out, if God had made it but a "ninety days insurrection," not one of the measures which he has compelled us to adopt against slavery, would have been adopted, but we should probably have amended our Constitution in behalf of slavery. And yet God has saved us, though we have resisted this kind of salvation every step of the way, and been dragged reluctantly into it, endeavoring still to save slavery and the Union together, and willing to abolish slavery only when we must either do that, or die ourselves, nor even abolishing it except only by peacemeal, establishing it in large excepted regions even where we decreed its abolition in others. Notwithstanding all this, God has saved us.

"And he saw that there was no man, and wondered that there was no intercession; therefore his arm brought salvation, and his righteousness it sustained him." "I have trodden the wine-press alone, and of the people there was none with me. And I looked, and there was none to help; and I wondered that there was none to uphold; therefore mine own arm brought salvation, and my fury it upheld me."

God, in his divine majesty, hath wrought salvation for us, in spite of us; even while we have been endeavoring to prevent both the break-up of the tyranny, and the deliverance of its victims. From this time forth it has to be shouted, What hath God wrought, and God alone! Jehovah hath triumph, the negroes are free!

A VIRTUE OF NECESSITY.

All these movements of freedom now beginning to be celebrated as explosions of our virtue, are but the constraint of God upon us, the compulsion of the Almighty, compelling us, in consequence of the explosion of the Union itself, to act as we should not otherwise have done. Our national cask that kept this national wine of slavery as a divine *nepenthe* of the most perfect human society, has burst asunder, and we have concluded therefore to take off the hoops; for no use could be made of the remaining staves with the hoops hanging to them. The Fugitive Slave law was one of the hoops. We should never have taken it off, never have given freedom to a solitary slave, had not God burst the cask asunder. When the Fugitive Slave law became only a plague and mischief to ourselves, then only did we repeal it. And nothing in the direction of freedom have we yet done for justice, nothing but from compulsion. Even when we proposed securing the freedom of the wives and children of our colored soldiers, it was demanded because it would help us to procure enlistments!

Now at last, in Heaven's name, let us do one good thing, one just and generous thing, without waiting to be driven by necessity. It is our last opportunity. Let us do this thing out of gratitude to God. As the final culminating effort and development of crime in the rebellion was the assassination of our lamented President, let the culminating act of our victory and vengeance be the bestowment of life, representative life, in all the rights of freedom, upon the blacks. Let the distinction of color never be admitted in our Constitution; let it forever be erased from all our laws.

OUR PLACE IN HISTORY.

Our survey is history. We rebuke neither man nor party, nor conceal anything, nor aught set down in malice, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness, in the indisputable facts of our own shame, to the glorifying of God's wondrous mercy that saves us, notwithstanding such unworthiness. All this is history, and our own place in history. The career is in fact so shameful that we can hardly believe it. We have been travelling as in a corkscrew path around a mountain, and each winding in the way hides from our vision the road we have passed over. Come back from point to point, and see the steps we have taken, along with the declarations of our policy, and the opportunities of glory and necessities of justice we have struggled to avoid. Our place in history is there, the traces of our crime and character are there, more clearly than the engravings of the megatheriums of creation in the geological strata. "He setteth a mark on the print of our heels."

The grand trial of men and nations is by opportunities. He that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin. Write that on the forehead of a nation, perverting and wasting such opportunities as ours, defrauding God and man of them, and you send such a nation on its travels after retribution as a wandering Corporate Cain, branded for the burning. Till this rebellion, we said we had not the opportunity; the bond, it was not in the bond; we could not interfere; we were the freest and most liberty-loving of all nations, but we were bound by Constitution and oath to make slaves of others. God gave us the rebellion, by which the Slave Power of its own accord, repudiated and destroyed the Constitution and the oath, and made for itself a new Constitution, both Confederate and State; and God has beaten down the rebellion and the rebels, and laid them at our feet, with the opportunity, the right, and the duty of destroying their rebel frames and forms of law and oppression, and providing for the protection of all the people a republican form of government, the Constitution of a free State, in accordance with the principles of the Declaration of Independence, that mankind are equal and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no one class of the governed can be excluded from the benefits of the government by conspiracy of the rest.

TRIAL OF THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY.

God gives our nation this glorious opportunity, this trial of our principles, our character; offers to us as a blank parchment the future of each rebel State, to write upon it the perpetual characters of universal freedom and justice without respect of persons, securing, as the essence of a republican form of government, the right of representation for all classes, all persons under allegiance. If instead of accepting this opportunity, we deliberately reject it, and select and reestablish for the rebel States their old, repudiated, oppressive Constitutions, putting the colored race under their feet with national sanction and security of the wrong, God only can compute the greatness and impiety of this iniquity, and God only can take vengeance for it.

The opportunity is that of renovating and transfiguring the whole of Southern society, putting into it the perpetual springs of justice and liberty. If instead of this we set again a coil of injustice, tyranny, cruelty, social misery, as the central governing spring—an artesian well of strife, discord, anarchy, torture, crime, such as the creation or violent malformation of a pariah race of millions for the contempt and cruelty of other millions, daring at the same time to proclaim this as a republican form of government, and the power and liberty of establishing and guaranteeing this as being the right over the rebellion that God has given us; this readjustment of society into the same fixtures of tyranny into which it was grappled before, with all the machinery and adaptations as of a social slaveship, and four million shut down between decks;—all this may be the fulfilment of the diplomatic assurance sent abroad by the Secretary of State at the beginning of the war, that the status of all persons in the rebel territory should be the same when the war was over as before, a diabolical success of that prediction—but it will also be the greatest betrayal of freedom and violation of justice, the greatest ingratitude and impiety, the greatest of modern crimes after slavery, and the assurance of a new series of judgments from the Almighty. And God knows how to measure the guilt and to distribute its punishment. What of it belongs to individuals he knows, as he measures the responsibility they have assumed and the glory of their opportunities.

PREROGATIVE OF GOVERNMENT.

At present the government has the power of deciding for the rights of the colored race and securing them. The government can refuse to admit any State to the Union that disfranchises the blacks. But once admitted, this power is lost. Hence the effort to reconstruct with the word *white*, as against the blacks, that the whole thing may be determined before Congress meet, and the right of suffrage taken from the negroes without remedy. This is the policy preparing for the judgments of the Almighty. We have to lament this day the choice and continuance of oppression adopted as the law of reconstruction, after all that God has done for us. There is a solemn inauguration of this oppression as a national policy and law. It is deliberately copied from the rebel State, assumed by the Nation, and secured again to the State with the National endorsement. The greatest result of this rebellion this day, and of the power that God had given us to deal with it, is this: that we put four millions of loyal citizens under the feet of their former oppressors, and assume this oppression as our national act and responsibility. This is done in the proclamation of the President, purging the white people of North Carolina of their treason, and giving to them the sole privilege of voting, according to the articles of their old slaveholding Constitution, excluding the blacks, as a caste to be voted down, to be trampled upon by State sovereignty in the hands of the whites. It is the old grist-mill of tyranny unchanged except in the position of the grind-stones, the United States being now uppermost, but the negroes still thrown into the hopper to be ground up for the use and at the pleasure of the whites.

THE EVIL PRECEDENT SET.

This is done. The precedent is set, and will be followed if God do not prevent it; and this is the first return we make to God for all that he has done for our salvation. Snatched from the jaws of hell ourselves by God's mercy we are seen binding the yoke anew upon the very race for whose sake and by whom God has delivered us. We are not engaged in the work of reconstruction, but in the work of binding down again the negroes to be trampled on. That is our occupation. It is a work of supererogation. It is not necessary to reconstruction. There is not for it even the poor apology of expediency. Who pretends that in order to reconstruct the Union it is necessary to excommunicate the blacks from a participation in its benefits? It is a crime chosen by ourselves, superfluous, spontaneous, when we had the power and the right of practising justice and mercy instead. Is this "malice to none charity to all, firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right?" Is this the legacy of statesmanship assumed by the government—the reward of treason with the right of voting, and the degradation of millions of unprotected victims of the treason itself, by running them into the mould of caste with the government brand upon them? Is it thus that, in the words of the new Governor of Virginia, we "represent the greatest nation, the most munificent people, and the biggest heart known among the nations of the earth?" Is that the purpose for which we claim, in the words of the Presbyterian addresses that "God has given us victory over slavery, in such a manner as to illustrate the power and excellence of our free institutions, when sustained by a virtuous and intelligent people?"

INJUSTICE UNDER PRETENCE OF JUSTICE.

The wickedness of this oppression is enhanced by its being executed in the name of the Constitution and of justice, and of the obligation to guarantee to each State a Republican form of government. Whereas, the rebellion has deprived the people of North Carolina of all civil government, and the President is bound to secure to them the benefits of a Republican government, therefore the white people shall have the right of excluding the black people from all participation in any form of government, from all right of representation, from the common privilege of the right of citizenship, and to trample them as a caste of serfs.

Thucydides gives the sentiment to the Corinthians complaining against the Athenians, "that not to the men who rivet on the chains of slavery, but to such as, though able, neglect to prevent it, ought the sad result with truth to be imputed; especially when, assuming superior virtues, they boast themselves the deliverers of Greece." Peloponnesian War, B. I.

Apply this principle to our boast of being the emancipators of the modern age, our boast of having given freedom to a race of millions. "Such protection as vultures give to lambs covering and devouring them!" And the President proclaims that this is done in order that loyal citizens may be protected in all their rights of life, liberty, and property! Who are the loyal citizens? They are these very men from whom, at a sweep, this proclamation takes their rights and throws them under the feet of traitors to be trampled on. "For the purpose of enabling the loyal people of said State to organize a State government, whereby justice may be established, domestic tranquillity ensured, and loyal citizens protected in all their rights of life, liberty, and property"; so runs the proclamation. For this purpose white rebels are rewarded for their treason with the privilege of voting, and white persons alone are permitted to vote, in order that blacks loyalists may be prevented from receiving the franchise, may be rewarded for their loyalty by expulsion from the polls.

For the purpose of enabling the loyal people to organize a State government, whereby justice may be established! It seems that injustice needs no such State authority, but the President possesses the prerogative of that, as a reserved right of the United States government, to be exercised beforehand against the blacks, so preventing the possibility of State sovereignty itself doing justice. The President does not ask the people, but bestows the enabling quality and precedent of injustice against the blacks, thus providing for their being deprived of life, liberty and property at the pleasure of the whites.

THE FIRST USE OF OUR RESTORED AUTHORITY.

And this is the first grand exercise of our restored sovereignty over the Union! To trample under foot four millions of our own citizens, innocent, loyal, for whose sake God has brought us through the war, to trample them down and brand them as *pariahs* because they are black. That is the first use we make of our restored authority, when God had let loose the grip of divine retribution on our own throats; instantly we take our fellow-servant by the throat and fling him down at the feet of the rebels, and say, Insult him, abuse him, trample upon him at your pleasure, only do it constitutionally, do it by vote, do it under the Union, by governmental endorsement.

If in any State at any election of United States officers in support of government, the whites were excluded by a powerful combination of blacks from the polls, the government would not hesitate to protect that right of suffrage for the whites at the point of the bayonet; for it is a right of allegiance and service to the United States government, which that government is bound to respect. But the color of the skin can make no difference. If in any State colored persons are excluded from that right by a combination of the whites the government is bound to secure the colored race in the right of suffrage, and to use whatever force may be necessary for that purpose. But if government suffer the word white to be put into the State Constitutions, and receive into the Union such States with such Constitutions, the government itself sanctions and sustains this outrage, and becomes a party to this assassination of the rights of millions of its subjects. And if the people look on and see this done without protest and interference they also sustain it and do it, and it cannot be undone without a new revolution and war.

RESULTS, IF NOT PREVENTED.

A government that would not prevent such outrages, when it might, will not interfere when they are committed, will send no force for the protection of those who suffer, but will look on inert and silent while a reign of terror is anew being established. When did government send a force to protect freedom of speech or rights of suffrage before the rebellion? Under the government's own eye and knowledge how many of its faithful subjects were tortured and expelled, and it never lifted a finger, but let the tide of anarchy and terror sweep on!

And so it will be again. The government will never interfere to save from the worst incessant outrages those from whom it has itself taken away the right of suffrage, and thus inflicted upon millions that fundamental outrage which will be the justification and the corner-stone on which to build all other outrages. The outrages will be secure, but rights will not. It will be pleaded that government cannot interfere in a time of peace, just as they could not against slavery; and the people will not interfere lest it produce war; and even the agitation of the subject will be forbidden, for it will be said that it was by just such agitation that the war of the rebellion was brought on, and these fanatics in behalf of human rights shall not again plunge us into such disunion and conflict. So by prestige of oppression, and terror of the recurrence of rebellion, the South will again rule, and fill society with curses, until again the Almighty rises in vengeance. Such is the prospective result of our committing the great and impious injustice and cruelty of refusing to the colored race the right of voting, or leaving it to the States to exclude them. [The conclusion of the discourse was deferred to Sabbath evening.]

THE TRUE FRIEND.

He is a friend, who, treated as a foe,
Now, even more friendly than before, doth show;
Who to his brother still remains a shield,
Although a sword for him his brother wield:
Who, of the very stones against him cast,
Builds Friendship's altar, higher and more fast.

TRENCH.

THE AMERICAN WOMEN.

THE June number of *Hours at Home* has an article on "How to Treat Our Wives," which those who think that love is not an essential element of a *true* marriage will do well to read. The article is too long for insertion in our paper. The following are the closing paragraphs:

"The American woman is what the American man requires her to be, and what American institutions and influences enable her to be. There is constant and fruitful effort on the part of men to secure for their daughters and for general female society the best advantages for education and culture; and these same men do this with wives in their homes who are treated little better than housekeepers. They are not regarded as partners; they are not treated as intimate and confidential companions. Equality of position, identity of interest, community of aims, affectionate and considerate tenderness and respectfulness of demeanor, thorough sympathy that shows itself in all private and family intercourse, certainly do not prevail between American husbands and wives, when regarded in the aggregate. Some will be disposed to deny this who only see life under some of its more favored phases; but those who are acquainted with all classes, in city and country, cannot fail to recognize the truthfulness of the statement. Women are denied the sympathy and society of their husbands to a shameful extent. They are kept in a position of dependence, and made to feel their dependence; they are made to ask for money for their personal use, and compelled to feel like mendicants in doing it. There are multitudes of wives, supposed to be well married, who never approach their husbands for money without a sense of humiliation. Now any man who compels the woman of his love to do this, insults her womanhood, degrades her, denies essentially his marriage vows, and does his best to kill out her respect for him, and to make the connubial bond an irksome one. A wife who is made to feel that she is a beggar, is no longer a wife, except in name. A wife who is compelled to feel that she has no rights except those which her husband accords to her from hour to hour, loses her spirit and her self-respect, and becomes a menial in feeling and in fact."

THE USE OF OPIUM.—A writer in the New York *Journal of Commerce* has been making some investigations into the annual imports of opium into the United States in 1840. He says that:

"While $40,874 paid the foreign cost of all the opium imported at the ports of the United States in 1840, it took $932,887 to pay the cost in the year ending June 30, 1862, an increase from forty thousand to nearly one million of dollars, in less than twenty-five years.

"Of the large sum last mentioned, 30,482 pounds, valued at $96,174, were landed at Boston; 163,055 pounds, valued at $554,443, at New York; while the value of $281,796, mostly 'prepared' opium, was landed on the Pacific, chiefly for the use of the Chinese in California. It is true that the medical business connected with the army is responsible for a portion of this increase since the war began; but the statistics show a very heavy consumption of opium previous to the war—the imports for the year ending June 30, 1860, averaging over one hundred and twenty thousand pounds per annum. This is an enormous amount for the consumption of this country, and shows that a large number of people must use the drug habitually, in some form, for the gratification of their cravings for a stimulant. There may be less disgrace connected with its use, but the effects, mental and physical, are far more injurious than those which follow the abuse of alcoholic drinks, while the habit is much less easily cured or restrained."—*Medical and Surgical Reporter.*

AIM AT SOMETHING.—Arther Gilman, in one of his public addresses, tells what he calls an Andover story. One day, he says, a man went into a store there, and began telling about a fire. "There had never been such a fire," he said, "in the county of Essex. A man going by Deacon Pettingill's barn saw an owl on the ridge-pole. He fired at the owl, and the wadding, somehow or other, getting into the shingles, set the hay on fire, and it was all destroyed—ten tons of hay, six head of cattle, the finest horse in the country," etc. The deacon was nearly crazed by it. The men in the store began exclaiming and commenting upon it. "What a loss!" says one. "Why, the deacon will well nigh break down under it," says another. And so they went on, speculating one after another, and the conversation drifted on all sorts of conjectures. At last a quiet man, who sat spitting in the fire, looked up and asked: "*Did he hit the owl?*" That man was for getting at the point of the thing. Let all public speakers, in the pulpit and elsewhere, heed the moral. Did you aim at something, and did you hit what you aimed at? No matter about the splurge, and the smoke, and the hay—"Did you hit that owl?"

REUNION.

An end at last! The echoes of the war—
The weary war beyond the Western waves—
Die in the distance. Freedom's rising star
Beacons above a hundred thousand graves:

The graves of heroes who have won the fight,
Who in the storming of the stubborn town
Have rung the marriage peal of might and right,
And scaled the cliffs and cast the dragon down.

Peans of armies thrill across the sea,
Till Europe answers—"Let the struggle cease,
The bloody page is turned; the next may be
For ways of pleasantness and paths of peace!"

A golden morn—a dawn of better things—
The olive-branch—clasping of hands again—
A noble lesson read to conquered kings—
A sky that tempests had not scoured in vain.

This from America we hoped and him
Who ruled her "in the spirit of his creed."
Does the hope last when all our eyes are dim,
As History records her darkest deed?

The pilot of his people through the strife,
With his strong purpose turning scorn to praise,
E'en at the close of battle reft of life,
And fair inheritance of quiet days.

Defeat and triumph found him calm and just,
He showed how clemency should temper power,
And dying left to future times in trust
The memory of his brief victorious hour.

O'ermastered by the irony of fate,
The last and greatest martyr of his cause;
Slain like Achilles at the Scæan gate,
He saw the end, and fixed "the purer laws."

May these endure and, as his work, attest
The glory of his honest heart and hand—
The simplest, and the bravest, and the best—
The Moses and the Cromwell of his land.

Too late the pioneers of modern spite,
Awe-stricken by the universal gloom,
See his name lustrous in Death's sable night,
And offer tardy tribute at his tomb.

But we who have been with him all the while,
Who knew his worth, and loved him long ago,
Rejoice that in the circuit of our isle
There is no room at last for Lincoln's foe.

—*London Spectator.* JOHN NICHOL.

ANECDOTE OF GRANT AND SHERMAN.—The New York *Times* tells for truth the following characteristic story of Grant and Sherman, who remain, as they always have been, close friends:

Just before Gen. Grant initiated his splendid campaign against Vicksburg, in the Spring of 1863, and after all the preparations had been made for swinging loose from the base of supplies on the Mississippi river, to make the circuitous inland march via Jackson, Miss., to the rear of Vicksburg, he was called upon by Gen. Sherman, and spoken to as follows: "Gen. Grant, I feel it to be my duty to say that as a subordinate officer I am bound to give you my hearty coöperation in this movement; but having no faith in it, I feel it due to my military reputation to protest against it in writing, and hope that my protest will be forwarded by you to Washington."

"Very well, Sherman," quietly replied the commanding-general; "send along your protest; I'll take care of it."

The next day Gen. Grant received Gen. Sherman's paper, and the movement was then initiated which culminated, in less than three months, in the surrender of Vicksburg and its immense garrison. Prior, however, to Pemberton's capitulation, but after it was morally certain that the rebel stronghold must fall, Gen. Sherman rode up to Gen. Grant's headquarters one day, and found his chief stretched on the ground beneath his "fly," endeavoring to keep as cool as possible in the sultry midsummer weather. They were chatting pleasantly on the prospects of the quickly-approaching success, when Gen. Grant's assistant-adjutant-general came up, and asked him for a certain paper of official importance. It is well known that Gen Grant entered upon the campaign without more "personal baggage than a tooth-brush," and this accounts for the fact that his official records were carried in the breast-pocket of his military blouse. Taking a handful of documents from this receptacle, he selected the one that had been asked for, and before putting the rest away drew forth a second paper from the pile. Then, turning to Sherman, with a merry twinkle in his eye, he said: "By the by, General, here is something that will interest you." Sherman took it, and saw the "protest" which a little more than two months before he had handed to Gen. Grant to be forwarded to Washington through the proper channel. An expression, half astonishment and half gratification, diffused itself over Sherman's war-worn features, which quickly changed to one of supreme satisfaction when Gen. Grant took the paper from his hand, and tearing it into small fragments, scattered them to the winds. No further allusion to the matter was made on either side.

HOW THE RACK WAS ABOLISHED.—Torture, applied to extort confession, was discontinued, it is said, in the public courts of Portugal, in consequence of the following circumstance:

A conscientious judge, having observed the effects of the rack upon supposed criminals, in making them confess anything, to the sacrifice of their lives, to get released from the torture, determined to try an experiment. It is a capital crime, in that country, to kill a horse or mule, and he had one of the former which he much valued. He took care, one night, to have all his servants employed, so that no one but the groom could go into the stable. When all were fast asleep in their beds, he stole thither, himself, and cut the horse so that he bled to death. The groom was apprehended and committed to prison. He pleaded not guilty; but the presumption being strong against him, he was ordered to the rack, where the extremity of the torture soon wrung from him a confession of the crime. Upon this confession, he had sentence of hanging passed on him, when his master went to the tribunal and there exposed the fallibility of confessions obtained by such means, by owning the fact himself, and disclosing the motives which had influenced him in making the experiment.

SCIENCE AS AN AID TO PUBLIC REJOICING.—The New York *World* felicitously makes this comparison:

"When the splendid victories of Trafalgar or of Waterloo went flying down the high-roads from London to all England's borders in the laurelled mail-coaches, fly as they might, the sun rose and set, and rose and set again, long before the racing-horses, and the thundering wheels had kindled their last volleys of sympathizing cheers which ran before and behind their course. But on Monday morning, one of Gen. Grant's telegraph-operators, sitting in a room at City Point, pressed a little ivory key, and on the instant, all the cities of the North, and the villages and the towns from the James to the Lakes, and from the Atlantic to the Pacific seas, felt the electric pulse; and before that day's sun had left his last rays on the shores of Oregon, nearly twenty millions of people were unitedly rejoicing that such a blow had been struck for the honor and the unity of the nation, and that we were by so much the nearer to the end of this desolating war."

A TOWER OF SKULLS.—Lamartine, in his "Pilgrimage to the Holy Land," writes as follows: "When I was about a league from Nise, the last Turkish town almost on the frontier of Servia, I saw a large tower rising up in the midst of the plain, as white as Parian marble. I took the path that led to it. I desired a Turkish lady who accompanied me to hold my horse, and I sat down under the shade of the tower to enjoy a few moments repose. No sooner was I seated, than raising my eye to the monument, I discovered that the walls which I supposed to be built of marble, were regular rows of human skulls, which bleached by rain and sun, and cemented by a little sand and lime, formed entirely the triumphal arch which now sheltered me from the burning sun. There must be from fifteen to twenty thousand. In some places portions of the hair are still hanging, and waved like lichen or moss with every breeze, which was then blowing fresh, penetrating the innumerable cavities of the skulls, and sounding like a mournful and plaintive sigh. These were the skulls of fifteen thousand Servians who had been put to death by the pacha in the last insurrection of Servia. Servia, however, is now free, and this monument will teach her children the value of independence, by showing them the price at which their forefathers purchased it."

THE possession of Miss Hosmer's "Sleeping Fawn," which is on exhibition in Dublin, is creating some "feeling" in that quarter. It appears that the great brewer, Mr. B. L. Guinness, offered 1,000 guineas for it. But when Mr. Guinness offered this sum, the committee were under the impression that the price which the sculptress had set upon it was £1,200. Consequently they declined his offer, and the deposit money of fifteen per cent. was not paid. Immediately afterwards, however, a letter arrived from the lady, who is at Rome, directing the committee not to dispose of the figure, as she had sold it to an American gentleman for the sum she had asked—1,000 guineas. It was then for the first time discovered that Mr. Guinness had tendered the full value in his offer some days before, and under the circumstances it is but natural that he should claim the statue. If he did not pay the deposit he was willing to do so, and that he did not was purely the fault of the committee. It is said that in strict law the figure is his.

THE TRIUMPH OF DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS IN AMERICA has awakened the liveliest interest in Europe. The Berlin *Volks Zeitung* has the following jubilant article on the subject:

"Every Republican in Europe now holds up his head, prouder and freer; he need no longer drop his head before the most incarnate monarchist, for never, since the commencement of history, have Republican Institutions proved truer than now. The tone of the liberal press becomes more confident and bolder, while the organs of aristocracy can hardly suppress their rage, and try to find consolation in the daily waning hope of a military despotism. France, too, recovers her Republican conscience, for it is reported from all districts that a new spirit has pervaded the masses since the fall of Richmond and principally since the death of Lincoln, and this spirit causes anxiety and care to the men in power. Richmond was the citadel of tyranny and barbarism for both worlds, and its fall was the second storming of the Bastille!"

EPITAPH in the burying-ground of Concord, Mass.:

"God wills us free;—man wills us slaves,
I will as God wills: God's will be done.
Here lies the body of
JOHN JACK,
A native of Africa, who died
March 1773, aged about sixty years.
Though born in a land of slavery,
He was born free.
Though he lived in a land of liberty,
He lived a slave;
Till by his honest though stolen labors,
He acquired the source of slavery,
Which gave him his freedom:
Though not long before
Death, the grand tyrant,
Gave him his final emancipation,
And put him on a footing with kings.
Though a slave to vice,
He practiced those virtues,
Without which kings are but slaves."

HANDWRITING.—Ariosto wrote in a small, fine, pointed character, and Tasso a large, free, and flowing style. Goethe wrote neatly, even elegantly. Porson wrote Greek as plain as type. Brougham writes with crabbed illegibility. Hawthorne wrote with a stroke far from neat, and somewhat confused. Longfellow writes in a round, back-handed, elegant fashion. Theodore Parker had a cramped, hieroglyphic style, that competed with Choate's famous scratches for absolute unreadableness. Dr. Chalmers kept an even hand. Byron wrote an awkward, contorted script. Scott wrote in regular, honest characters, though he constantly failed to cross his t's. Emerson writes with a dashing air. Willis with sharp, even firmness. Chas. Sprague with womanly delicacy. Fanny Kemble with a nervous stroke and womanly angularity. Whittier with indecision, without either strength or symmetry. Whipple with lofty loops that are a chirographic pun upon his penultimate syllable. Hillard, precise, balanced, and constrained. Motley is minute and clipt; and George Ticknor legible and light. The scratch of Halleck looks as if he might have practiced the Morse alphabet and gone crazy on it. The facts show that chirography can hardly be relied on as an indication of character. The philosophic theory of this matter, put by Lavater and others, is stated to be, that certain qualities of the brain act through the nervous organization, and thus regulate the motion of the hand, by the dependent muscles, so that the form of the letters taken upon the paper will show correspondence with those qualities as surely as the lines in the spectrum will designate the nature of the body that emits the ray.

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